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AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.
TO ITS
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN
ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1801.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY FRANCIS *PLOWDEN*, *Esq.*

VOL. V.

Pauci prudentiâ honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur. TAC. 4. Ann. 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom. MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM F. McLAUGHLIN, NO. 28
NORTH SECOND STREET, AND BARTHOLOMEW GRAVES, NO.
40 NORTH FOURTH STREET.

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AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND.

THE town of Enniscorthy is situated at the foot of a commanding eminence called Vinegar Hill: here the rebels formed, what they called a camp:* made entrenchments round it, and placed some batteries on them. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower class of the people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men, women and children. They posted strong piquet guards, sentinels, and videts in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it. They then proceeded to destroy, with wanton and bigotted ferocity, the interior of the church of Enniscorthy.†

A body of more than 1000 rebels in advancing towards Gorey on the 1st of June, had taken possession of a small village called Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey, and were proceeding to take possession of an advantageous post called Ballymanaan Hill, midway between the village and the town,

* It is remarkable that the small town of Clonnegall, under the command of Lieutenant Holmes. (a justice) of the North Cork, was kept under such laudable discipline and firmness, that though in the neighbourhood of Carnew, it never fell into the hands of the rebels.

† This is the first outrage committed by the rebels on a Protestant church. They were afterwards repeated in some, though not very many instances. In order to avoid the odious detail of the wanton destruction of places of divine worship, a list may be seen of the Catholic chapels destroyed in time of and after the rebellion, in Appendix, No. CXII.

when they were met by the whole of the small garrison of Gorey, and by a steady and well directed fire, the rebels were soon completely routed. The garrison consisted only of twenty of the Antrim and twenty of the North Cork militia, with fifty yeoman infantry, and three troops of yeoman cavalry.* Had the cavalry pursued, they might have greatly annoyed the rebels. This victorious band on their return to Gorey fired most of the houses at Ballicannoo, and entered the town in triumph with 100 horses and other spoil, which they had taken. In this, as in every other engagement at the beginning of the rebellion, the insurgents elevated their guns too much for execution; which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the part of the king's troops: on this occasion three only were wounded and none killed. The rebels are said to have lost above threescore.

This success, coupled with that at Newtonbarry, gave a momentary check to the ardour of the rebels. A party from Vinegar Hill surrounded this latter town in such a manner, that Colonel L'Estrange, more hastily it appears, than necessarily, gave orders to abandon it, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the officers of the yeomen and volunteers. After a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succour of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire on the enemy from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The rebels, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, intent on plunder and devastation, and totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared and driven out of the town with the loss of about two hundred men.†

One of the great mischiefs attendant upon the necessary dispersion of our troops into small detachments, was the multiplication of commands; which sometimes necessarily fell upon persons little qualified for that arduous charge, under the critical and delicate situation of the army. Whatever excesses and faults were unfortunately committed by them, cast disgrace and

* The Reverend Mr. Gordon recounts (p. 136.) an occurrence after the battle, of which his son was a witness, which greatly illustrates the state of the country at that time: "two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

† The light in which this conduct of the commanding officer at Newtonbarry was set forth in the official bulletin, was, *that he at first retreated in order to collect his forces.*

obloquy upon the service in general. *On advice received at Newtonbarry of the attack intended by the rebels, an express had been sent to Clonnegall, two miles and a half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to Newtonbarry. The commander of these troops, Lieutenant Young of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in hanging four prisoners, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of the gentlemen of the town, and an officer of the North Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death: some of them having actually declined to join the rebels, when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march, three miles longer than the direct road, the troops arrived not at Newtonbarry till after the action was entirely over. Mr. Young, on his arrival in Clonnegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every individual of his soldiers with a feather-bed, and had, without the least necessity, turned Mr. Derenzy, a brave and loyal gentleman and his children, out of their beds. When remonstrances were made to this officer for the incessant depredations of his men, his answer was, "I am the commanding officer, and damn the croppies."

The rebels having been foiled in their late efforts, and disheartened at their recent defeats, had taken post on Corrigrua hill in great force, where they rested on their arms till the 4th of June. Meantime, the long and anxiously expected army under General Loftus, arrived at Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, that the immediate and total dispersion of the rebels was at hand. The plan was, to march the army in two divisions, by different roads at Corrigrua, and attack the enemy in conjunction with other troops. The rebels were in the mean time preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey. Information had been received by the rebel chiefs, of the intended motions of the army, and they acted upon it. But when intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was brought to the army, by a respectable farmer, named Thomas Dowling, the officers despised his information, and even threatened him with imprisonment. Both armies marched about the same time: that of the rebels surprised a division under Colonel Walpole†, at a place called Tubberneering. The rebels instantly poured a tre-

* Gord. 2 edit. p. 151.

† This gentleman was a relative and favourite of Lord Camden's. He was no soldier; but being ambitious of signalizing himself in the rebellion, had, through importunity at the castle, where favour had too frequently outweighed merit, procured the command of five hundred men. He had only one quality of a soldier....courage; which, without discretion in a commander, becomes rashness. He refused to employ scouts or flanking parties; and was not aware of the enemy till they were within gun shot. He was conspicuously mounted on a white charger, in full uniform and plumage.

mendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and he received a bullet through the head from the first fire. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six pounders, and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by the fire of some of the rebels who had taken station in the houses. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, once more fled to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

While Walpole's division was attacked by the enemy, General Loftus, being within hearing of the musquetry, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, across the fields to its assistance; but they were intercepted by the rebels, and almost all killed or taken. The general, still ignorant of the fate of Colonel Walpole's division, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, by a long circuit, to the field of battle, where he was first acquainted with the melancholy event. For some way he followed the rebels toward Gorey, but finding them posted on Gorey-hill, from which they fired upon him the cannon taken from Colonel Walpole, he retreated to Carnew; and still contrary to the opinion of most of his officers, thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

Whilst one formidable body of the Wexford insurgents was advancing toward the north, another still more formidable was preparing to penetrate to the south west. The conquest of New Ross, which is situated on the river formed by the united streams of the Nord and the Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the disaffected in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thousands were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of that important post, when it might have been effected without opposition, immediately upon their success at Enniscorthy, had, fortunately for the royal cause, been abandoned on account of a personal difference amongst their chiefs. The rebel army at Wexford chose Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, * as soon as he was liberated from prison, for their genera-

* The following was the form of their appointment.

"At a meeting of the commanders of the united army, held at Carrickburn camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

"Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,

"NICHOLAS GRAY, Secretary."

liesimo, and they divided into two main bodies: one of which directed its course northward to Gorey; the other, which was headed by Harvey in person, took post on Carrickburn mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized till the 4th of June, when it marched to Corbet hill, within a mile of that town which it was intended to attack the next morning. Harvey, though neither destitute of personal courage, nor of a good understanding, possessed no military experience, much less those rare talents, by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controlled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have succeeded had it been put in execution. Having sent a summons to General Johnson, the commander of the king's troops, with a flag of truce, to surrender the town, the bearer of it, one Furlong, was shot by a sentinel of an out-post.* Whilst Harvey was arranging his forces for the assault, they were galled by the fire of some out-posts: he ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and drive in the out-posts. Kelly was followed confusedly by a much greater number than he wished: he executed his commission; but could not bring back the men as ordered; they rushed impetuously into the town, drove back the cavalry with slaughter on the infantry, seized the cannon, and being followed in their successful career by crowds from the hills, seemed some time nearly masters of the town. From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favour

"It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should from and after the 1st day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

"Signed by the above authority,

"NICHOLAS GRAY."

* To shoot all persons carrying flags of truce from the rebels, appears to have been a maxim with his majesty's forces. This measure if wise, was certainly less productive of good, than evil consequences. In Furlong's pocket was found the following letter of summons to General Johnson.

"SIR,

"AS a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

"I am, Sir,

"B. B. HARVEY,

"General commanding, &c. &c. &c."

"Camp at Corbet Hill, half past
"three o'clock in the morning,
"June 5, 1798."

of the rebel army, some officers of the garrison fled to Waterford, twelve miles distant, with the alarming intelligence.

The original plan of attack was thus defeated by this premature, though successful onset; in one quarter; the Dublin and Donegal militia maintained their posts at the market house, and at a station called Fairgate, and prevented the rebels from penetrating into the centre of the town; while Major General Johnson, aided by the extraordinary exertions of an inhabitant of Ross, named McCormick, who had served in the army, though not then in commission, brought back to the charge the troops that had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side; they presently recovered their post, and drove the rebels from the town, the outskirts of which were now in flames, fired by the assailants or disaffected inhabitants, as Enniscorthy had been. The rebels, in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the assault, and regained some ground. Again dislodged by the same exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at last finally repulsed, after an engagement of above ten hours, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The official bulletin, published at Dublin on the 8th of June, stated, that on the 5th, about six in the morning, the rebels attacked the position of General Johnson, at New Ross, with a very large force and great impetuosity; but that, after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed. The loss of the rebels was very great, the streets being literally strewn with their carcasses. An iron gun upon a ship carriage had been taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickburn, leaving several iron ship guns not mounted.

General Johnson stated, that too much praise could not be given to the forces under his command.

The general severely regretted the loss of that brave officer, Lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. A return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's forces had not then been received, but it appeared not to have been considerable. It was supposed to have been about 300, though the official detail afterwards made reduced them to about half that number.*

* The impetuosity and ardour with which the rebels assailed the town of Ross, and the prodigality with which they threw away their lives, surpassed belief. The troops did not stand it; and the difficulty, with which that able and meritorious officer, General Johnson, rallied them, proves the terror, which this ferocious, though irregular charge of the rebels had created. The first assailants had no sooner dislodged the troops, than, instead of pursuing them on their retreat, they fell most voraciously to plunder, and became quickly disabled to act from intoxication, whereby they were so easily repulsed on the return of the fugitive troops. Sir Richard Musgrave says, (p. 410) "that such was their enthusiasm, that though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardour."

Bloody as was the carnage at New Ross, where the rebels were said to have lost between two and three thousand men, the horror of that scene vanished before the inhuman massacre of a number of unfortunate prisoners,* men, women and children,

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticism and drunkenness, advanced before his comrades, seized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "come on, boys, her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate savage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a person who saw it from a window.

* Such inhuman massacres in cold blood are in their nature too horrible to find advocates, whether perpetrated under the brutal orders of a king's officer on avowed rebels, or of rebels in retaliation; by a Henry at Agincourt, a Suwarow at Praga, or a Bonaparte in Palestine. To a deed so foul the grossest misinterpretation must be expected in the frantic rage of party to be superadded to its own essential atrocity. Sir Richard Musgrave (p. 426) has asserted, that "John Murphy, the rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman, and William Devereux, who both held the same rank, commanded a guard of 300 rebels, and that when the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent to Murphy, to put the Protestant prisoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general: that he soon after received another message to the same purpose, with this addition, that the prisoners, if released, would become very furious and vindictive: that shortly a third express arrived, saying the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death: that the rebels, on hearing the sanction of the priest, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed."

There is no question, but that the rebels were universally and unexceptionably determined upon the principle of retaliation and retribution: they considered every man that lost his life under military execution, without trial, as a murdered victim whose blood was to be revenged; so sanguinary and vindictive had this warfare fatally become. Besides numerous instances of such military executions, wherever the army had gained an advantage, they bore deeply in their minds the deliberate and brutal murder of thirty-eight prisoners, most of whom had not (at least who were said and believed not to have) committed any act of treason at Dunlavin on the 24th of May; and the like wanton and atrocious murder of thirty-nine prisoners of the like description at Carnew, on the morning of Whitsun Monday, merely because the party, which had them in custody, had orders to march, and they were unwilling to discharge them, but wanted time to examine, much more to try them. A gentleman of punctilious veracity and retentive memory has assured me, that he was present in the House of Commons at the examination of a Mr. Frizell, a person of respectability, at the bar of that house, in the summer of 1798, who was a prisoner in the house of Scullabogue on the 4th of June. He was asked every question that could be suggested relative to the massacre: to which his answers were substantially as follows: That having been taken prisoner by a party of the rebels, he was confined to a room on the ground floor in Scullabogue house, with twenty or thirty other persons; that a rebel guard with a pike stood near the window, with whom he conversed: that persons were frequently called out of the room in which he was by name, and he believes were soon after shot, as he heard the report of muskets shortly after they had been so called out; that he understood that many were burned in the barn, the smoke of which he could discover from the window: that the sentinel pikeman assured him, that they would not hurt a hair of his head, as he was always known to have behaved well to the poor: that he did not know of his own knowledge, but only from the reports current amongst the prisoners, what the particular cause was, for which the rebels had set fire to the barn. Upon which, Mr. Ogle rose with precipitation from his seat, and put this question to him with great eagerness: *Sir, tell us what the cause was?* It having been suggested, that the question would be more regularly put from the chair, it was repeated to him in form;

mostly Protestants, burned to death in a barn at Scullabogue on the evening of that same day. Scullabogue house, which is the property of a Mr. King, was situated at the foot of Carrickburn mountain. When the rebel army marched to Corbet hill, these prisoners had been left under a guard, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnaghur. The run-aways declared, that the Royal army in Ross were shooting all the prisoners, and butchering the Catholics, who had fallen into their hands, feigned an order from Harvey for the execution of those at Scullabogue. This order, which Harvey himself, a Protestant, and a man of humanity, was utterly incapable of giving, Murphy is said to have resisted; but his resistance was vain. Thirty-seven were shot and piked at the hall door; and the rest, a hundred and eighty-four in number according to report, crammed into a barn, were burned alive, the roof being fired, and straw thrown into the flames to feed the conflagration.

It appears upon the whole, that the burning of the prisoners at Scullabogue was not, as has been generally represented, the consequence of any regular order or system, but perpetrated by some runaway rebels from the assault on Ross (the coward being ever cruel), who, to palliate their own flight, invented or magnified the cruelty of the king's troops. It is generally believed, that several persons, who were on guard at Scullabogue, and suffered for the transaction, were in truth the most innocent of that inhuman and barbarous massacre.*

On the day ensuing the rebels' defeat at Ross, they re-assumed their former position on Carrickburn hill. Great discontent pervaded the whole army from their failure on the preceding day. Loud murmurs were heard against their commander in chief, who in consequence thereof resigned his command, and retired to Wexford. He is said to have been much disgusted, not only at the turn of events in the field, but more particularly at the general insubordination that prevailed throughout their ranks. Being a man of natural benevolence

and Mr. Frizell answered, that the only cause that he, or he believed the other prisoners ever understood, induced the rebels to this action, was, that they had received intelligence, that the military were again putting all the rebel prisoners to death in the town of Ross, as they had done at Dunlavin and Carnw. Mr. Ogle asked no more questions of Mr. Frizell, and he was soon after dismissed from the bar. To those gentlemen who were present at this examination, the truth of this statement is submitted.

* According to some accounts, about fifteen Catholics perished in this barn. But I find, in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 29th of October, 1799; that he could "mention but seven, viz. two men of the name of Neille, "the clerk of Mr. Shalloe's chapel, Johnston a piper, Eleanor Ryan a servant "Maid, Edward Ryan her father, and Edward Killa a herd. The people at "Wexford (town) were not the authors of that massacre, nor had they any "hand in it. We cannot tell who commanded the guard that remained "there."

and humanity, he was shocked at the massacre at Scullabogue : and the last act of his power was, the issuing general orders denouncing the penalty of death against such persons, as should murder the prisoners, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief.*

The rebels remained only two days at Carrickburn : they took post on Sleeva Keelta, another hill which rises over the river of Ross, probably with design to intercept the navigation of the channel between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannon Fort. In this they in some degree succeeded ; for, though they failed in

* GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Meeting of the General and several Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Resolutions were agreed upon :

Resolved, That the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering or delaying at home, or elsewhere ; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose ; and all such persons so to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, That all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse, or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head-quarters, otherwise every horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall be seized, and the person convicted of taking it shall suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought in to head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, Commander in Chief.

FRANCIS BREEN, Secretary and Adjutant.

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp, June 6, 1798.

their attempts on some gun-boats, they obliged some small vessels to surrender, in one of which was a mail, from which they learned much concerning the state of the kingdom in general from newspapers and private letters. Here by a tumultuous election, was chosen for general, in room the of Harvey, Father Philip Roche, who has been before mentioned to be a man of large stature and boisterous manners, not ill adapted to direct by influence the disorderly bands he had to deal with.

This choice of Father Roche shews how much the warfare had now altered its complexion, and began to assume the form of a fanatic and religious crusade. The term *United Irishmen* had been designedly merged into that of *Popish Rebels* on one side, and the denomination of *Orangemen* into that of *Protestants and Heretics* on the other. It shews also how little guided the Wexford rebels were by any thing like a preconcerted plan from their first rising. Of all men, the Roman Catholic priests were the least qualified for feats of arms and military conduct. Yet they being the individuals, to whom the lower class of society paid the most personal subservience and obedience, it was perhaps considered prudent to confide the command of this indomitable rabble to persons of that description. The few of them* who had debased their ministry by giving into the rebellion were either ferociously fanatical, or profligately hypocritical: such characters were supereminently adapted to control these licentious and ungovernable bands. Little is it to be wondered at, that men, who could so pollute the sacred character, as to convert the mild and persuasive weapons of the Evangelist, into the exterminating sword of blood and devastation, should sharpen the latter with every fraud, imposition, and falsehood, which the innate reverence of the Irish at all times for the sacred character of the priesthood, enabled them to father upon them, and thus mislead and enflame the people.†

* From the most unbiassed accounts which I have seen, the number of Roman Catholic priests, who gave into the rebellion, fell considerably short of a score, which out of two thousand and upwards in the kingdom is a very small proportion. Amongst those few no prelate or ecclesiastic of consequence and respectability was to be found. Some few of them appear to have been intimidated by their flock, and forced into the cause under threats and menaces of their lives. Such were not prominently active in the field; but weak enough to sanction by their authority and functions the execrable cause of rebellion.

† Thus it appears not improbable, that in this particular Sir Richard Musgrave speaks some truth (p. 432.) "A respectable Protestant who was taken prisoner by the rebels, and compelled to serve in the camp at Carrickhyrne, informed me, that Father Roche, in a public harangue, denounced all Protestants as heretics, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to serve in their ranks: that on the same day he met Roche in a tent, and that he with singular dissimulation, assured him, that they made no religious distinction, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cause: that Bagenal Harvey on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly

Quitting the post of Sleeve Keelter in three days after their arrival, the troops of Philip Roche occupied the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, where they formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected for their officers. Here for some days they lay inactive, regaling themselves on the slaughtered cattle and liquors, they had plundered, supinely negligent of their safety, and open to be surprised on any night by a sortie from the garrison of Ross. Had the rebels, immediately after the rout of Walpole's army, advanced to Arklow, they could have taken possession of it without resistance, for the garrison fled from it before day break on the 5th of June, to Wicklow. The insurgents of the county of Wicklow had with extreme difficulty been kept in check by Major Hardy, the commander of that district who had been very unaccountably repulsed in five different rencounters; which advantages though singly of no great importance, rendered the rebels in those parts far more audacious, and eager to co-operate with the Wexford insurgents. The officer who commanded in Arklow when the garrison was preparing for flight, issued orders that no person should be permitted to quit the town until the garrison had marched; so that if the rebels had come, as they were every moment expected, the whole multitude of women and children of the loyalist's party must have fallen into their hands. This order was probably intended to prevent the intelligence of Walpole's defeat from being carried northward; it was quite nugatory, as that intelligence was conveyed by several different roads to the metropolis.*

As Major Hardy was ignorant of the great force of the rebels posted at Gorey, he highly disapproved of the evacuation of Arklow, and commanded the garrison instantly to return from Wicklow to their post, without even permission to taste any refreshment. It was augmented on the sixth by the arrival of the Cavalan regiment of militia, and at one o'clock on the morning of

"turned out to be purely religious; that the priests had got absolutely sway: that he seemed quite distracted, and wished he could make his escape."

And Mr. Gordon, (*p.* 157) speaking of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow says, "this priest had been supposed by the more ignorant of his followers to be invulnerable by bullets or any other kind of weapon; to confirm them in which belief he had frequently shewed them musket balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. Though I was well acquainted with the extreme credulity of the lower classes of my Romanist countrymen, I could not give credit to this account until I found it confirmed beyond a doubt by various concurring testimonies. The same divine protection was believed to be possessed by father John, the famous Fanatic already mentioned."

* An exaggerated account of this disaster was received by the disaffected in Dublin, before it was known by the members of administration at the castle; for the societies of the conspiracy had an established mode of speedy conveyance by verbal messages from one secretary to another.

the ninth by the Durham fencibles. The arrival of this regiment, which was well disciplined, most critically prevented the taking of Arklow, the consequences of which might have been fatal to the cause. This regiment had been remarkably successful in the preceding year, in the county of Down in disarming the United Irishmen, and thereby preventing the breaking out of rebellion in that part. When ordered southward, on account of the insurrection in Leinster, an ambuscade of seven thousand men was placed in the county of Meath, to the north of Balbriggan, to surround and cut it to pieces on its march; but by the excellent dispositions made by its commander Colonel Skerret, it passed this formidable ambuscade without loss, and arrived safely in Dublin; whence, after much deliberation, and a delay dangerous at such a crisis, it was sent to Arklow; carriages having been procured for the men, that they might arrive fresh at the scene of action.

After the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, the rebels had wasted much time in burning the town of Carnew, in trials of prisoners for Orangism, the plundering of houses, and other acts of like nature; at length however, they collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Arklow on the ninth, the only day in which that post had fortunately been prepared for defence. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, and they were furnished with three serviceable pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men including yeomen, supplementary men, and those of the artillery. The rebels attacked the town on all sides, except that which is washed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the sea shore, was rapid and impetuous: the piquet guard of yeomen cavalry, stationed in that quarter, instantly galloped off in such terror, that most of them stopped not their flight till they had crossed the Barrow which was very broad, swimming their horses, in great peril of drowning. The farther progress of the assailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, supported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line composed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, those of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham fencibles. The main effort of the rebels, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening was directed against the station of the Durham, whose line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the rebels poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, so that the opposite fire of the soldiery had no effect, Colonel Skerret, the second in command, commanded his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breast work, and the

right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy leaving their cover should advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in most formidable force, the assailants rushing within a few yards of the cannon mouths; but they were received with so close and effective a fire, that they were repulsed with great slaughter in every attempt. The Durhams were not only exposed to the fire of the enemy's small arms, but were also galled by their cannon. General Needham who in riding from post to post exposed himself to the enemy's fire, fearing to be overpowered by numbers began to talk of a retreat: to which Colonel Skerret spiritedly replied to the general, that they could not hope for victory otherwise than by preserving their ranks: if they broke, all was lost: he knew the spirit of his corps, and could never bear the idea of its giving ground. By this magnanimous answer of the colonel the general was diverted some time from his scheme of a retreat, and in that time the business was decided by the retreat of the rebels, who retired in despair, when frustrated in their most furious assault, and dispirited by the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon shot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack.

The battle of Arklow, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of this civil war, since it most probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not pursued (pursuit would have been hazardous, at the close of the evening), they carried away most of their wounded, so that their loss could not be ascertained, but is reported to have amounted to three or four hundred. The loss of the Durham regiment, out of three hundred and sixty men, of which it consisted, was twenty privates killed and wounded. The loss of men sustained by the rest of the army never was accurately ascertained, but was smaller than might have been expected: for though the weight of the combat lay on the Durhams, the action was every where warm, and the defence bravely maintained. The rebels' guns having been generally worked by the artillery men they had taken prisoners, were designedly pointed too high, which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the king's side.*

* A very warm contest subsists between Sir Richard Musgrave and the Rev. Mr. Gordon, relative to their respective representations of the conduct of General Needham in this action: for the particulars of which, see the Appendix to the second edition of Mr. Gordon's History of the Rebellion, No. IX. The following was the official account of this battle:

" Dublin, 10th June, 1798.

" ACCOUNTS were received early this morning by Lieutenant General Lake, from Major General Needham, at Arklow, stating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked his position in Arklow, at six o'clock

The town of Wexford was the prime seat or head quarters of the rebellion in the south. It remained in the possession of the rebel force about three weeks; namely, from the 30th of May to the 21st of June. During this space of time it was the melancholy scene of much distress and cruelty: and afterwards became the object of much more obloquy and defamation than the real horrors, great as they were, would justify. The sanguinary and vindictive turn the insurgency had very early taken, rendered submission to either, alike dreadful to both parties respectively. On the evacuation of the town by the military, all the vessels lying in the harbour were instantly crowded with fugitives, who dreaded nothing so much as to fall into the hands of the rebels. The quays and every avenue leading to the water side, were crowded with men, women, and children, begging in the most pitiable manner, to be admitted on board the vessels. They were filled in every part. On seeing the flames of the toll-house and bridge, all the vessels weighed and stood towards the mouth of the harbour, where they cast anchor. About one o'clock, a white flag was seen flying in Wexford (a signal that the rebels were in possession of the town); all the captains answered the signal, except two, who sailed for Wales. They then again weighed anchor, and stood for the town, where they soon landed all their passengers to share the fate of their neighbours.

The rebels who entered the town, were headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who had been permanent serjeant in Colonel Le Hunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, from which he had lately deserted, and become a rebel general. They immediately by acclamation appointed Gen. Keugh governor and commandant of the town; and bore him on their shoulders to the court-house. This extraordinary man, having been a private in his majesty's service, had risen to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 6th regiment, in which he served in America. He was a man of engaging address, and of that competency of fortune, which enabled him to live comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he appreciated his own abilities too highly: and in clubs and coffee-houses, he had long been in the habit of censuring the corruptions of government, and was so violent an advocate for reform, that the lord chancellor had deprived him of the commission of the peace, in the year 1796. In order to intro-

"yesterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themselves for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being strongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavouring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the 40th Dragoon Guards, 5th Dragoons, and Ancient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the position, they were defeated with much slaughter. The loss of his majesty's troops was trifling, and their behaviour highly gallant."

duce some order into the town, the rebels chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable portion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. Many habitations of the Protestants who had made their escape were plundered, some of them were demolished, and but few of those who remained in the town were spared. Most of the Protestant men were committed to prison, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cause, or who affected to be so to save their lives, or those who concealed themselves.

Although several of the Protestant inhabitants of Wexford were imprisoned, they were those only, whom the rebels considered the most obnoxious.* It has been asserted by one author, with a mischievous mixture of truth and falsehood, that "those who could obtain written protections from the Popish clergy, whose influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not molested."† It is a most lamentable truth, that during the tumultuary rule of this ferocious and enflamed rabble, many partial, though premeditated and cruel murders without any form or pretence of trial, were perpetrated in Wexford, with a savage affectation of solemnity, in order to excite and extend the sanguinary enthusiasm of this frantic multitude. An author of candour and credit has said, that‡ he could not state with accuracy, what number had been massacred during the whole time of the rebels' possession; he believed it to have amounted to 101.

Most, if not all of the massacres perpetrated in Wexford were laid at the door of an infuriate sanguinary monster by the name of Dixon, a captain of a trading vessel, who was on board

* The following rebel proclamation seems to justify the idea, that they had no intent or wish to spill the blood of any, who had not been guilty of acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression against the people.

Proclamation of the People of the County of Wexford.

"WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowran, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen. Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, &c. &c. &c. and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people.

"Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

† Musgrave, p. 445.

‡ Gordon, second edition, p. 190.

his vessel with a large number of fugitives in the harbour, and was the first to re-land them: he had also behaved towards some of the ladies in his ship with brutal ferocity. This man had acquired an unfortunate ascendancy over the very worst and most fanatical part of this wretched assemblage. After his return to shore he was made a captain in the rebel army; which increased his influence, and extended his means of exciting the rabble, under the mask of zeal for their cause, to those inhuman atrocities, in which he appeared to delight. It happened, that some Orange furniture had been found by the wife of this man (an inhuman prototype of himself) in the drawing room of Mr. Le Hunte, four miles from Wexford, particularly two fire-screens, with emblematical figures; Dixon informed the mob, that his room had been the meeting place of Orangemen, and that the figures denoted the manner, in which the Roman Catholics were to be put to death by these conspirators; that they were to be first deprived of their sight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and particularly that the seamen of that communion were to be roasted to death on red-hot anchors. Mr. Le Hunte, who had hitherto been permitted to remain with little molestation in a private house in the town, was instantly dragged into the street by the rabble, who would soon have torn him in pieces, if he had not been saved by the exertions of two Catholic gentlemen, who commanded an influence upon the people, named Edward Hay, and Robert Carty, who hurried him into the gaol, under pretence of bringing him to trial, and parried in the crowd the thrusts of the pikes, two of which, in spite of their endeavours, wounded him slightly in the back.*

The number of Protestants in the town of Wexford, when it fell into the hands of the rebels, did not merely consist of the inhabitants of that town and its environs, but had been greatly increased by the assemblage of refugees and prisoners from more distant parts of the country. Of these, about 260 were confined in the gaol and other places of imprisonment: several were confined in their own houses: the dread of massacre fell indiscriminately upon them all. In the perturbed state of a tumultuary assemblage of individuals so credulous, so irritable, and so ferocious, it would be useless to investigate the particu-

* Gordon, second edition, p. 178. This Mr. Hay, in 1802, wrote a very interesting letter to Mr. Gordon on some mis-statements in the first edition of his history, which the reverend author has had the candour to publish at full length in the Appendix to his second edition, and is to be seen in Appendix, No. CXIII. This gentleman (*ibid.*) says he is convinced, that Mr. Hay had no command among the rebels, and exerted himself only to save lives and property. Mr. Edward Hay has, since the publication of the Rev. Mr. Gordon's second edition, published a history of the insurrection of Wexford.

lar cause, motive, or incentive to each particular massacre. On the 6th day of June, under an order from Enniscorthy, ten prisoners at Wexford were selected for execution, and suffered accordingly. Conjectures have been hazarded, why such orders emanated from Enniscorthy rather than from Wexford. The natural inference from the limitation of the victims to half a score, is that the rebels, who avowed to act upon the principles of retaliation, had received information that a similar number of their people had suffered in like manner on the preceding day. Bloody as the rebels are represented to have been, there could have been no other reason for their limiting their lust for murder to the particular number of ten. It has been said,* that a general slaughter of the prisoners was twice in vain attempted by the sanguinary Dixon, at the head of bands of peasants. He was magnanimously opposed, first by one Hore, a butcher, and next by one Scallion, a nautical trader; the former with a sword, the latter with a pistol, defying him to single combat, and insisting, that he must shew himself a man before he should dare to put defenceless men to death. Whatever fatal influence was practised by some individuals over the most profligate and infuriated fanatics of the multitude, the leaders of the rebels most solemnly disclaimed every idea of cruelty, and strongly recommended brotherly love and affection towards their countrymen of every religious persuasion.† An influx of fugitive rebels from the northern parts of the county into Wexford, by retailing some facts, and exaggerating or inventing more tales of cruelties, horrors, and barbarities committed upon them by the soldiery, had excited an unaccountable degree of ferociousness and revenge in the rebel multitude. The rage for retaliation which operated as strongly from the representation of false as of true facts, the barbarous Dixon enflamed by whiskey, and supported by the most inhuman exhortations. This monster had before assumed into his own hands a summary administration of justice, and by having exercised it upon an individual, whose character and conduct were odious to the multitude, had acquired from them a degree of credit in selecting the objects of his severity.

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, his relative, a Roman Catholic clergyman, having been sentenced to transportation, had been sent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the insurrection; he was found guilty on the testimony of one Francis Murphy, whose evidence was positively contradicted by three other witnesses. Under these circumstances, Dixon took a summary

* Gordon, second edition, p. 180.

† See the proclamations, signed B. B. Harvey, on the 6th of June, and by Edward Roche, on the 7th, in the Appendix, No. CXIV.

mode of avenging the fate of his kinsman, who was generally beloved. He brought the man out of gaol, upon his own sole authority, and conducted him down to the bull-ring, where he obliged three revenue officers, who were then prisoners, and whom he brought out along with him, to shoot him, and afterwards bear his body to the quay and throw it into the water. This execution took place, with all its shocking circumstances, while most of the town's people were at prayers, and was utterly unknown to the principal inhabitants.

It has unaccountably been so keen a study of some historiographers of this period of Irish history to represent the Catholic clergy in general, and particularly Dr. Caulfield, the Catholic bishop of Ferns, and others of his clergy in that diocese, as aiding and fomenting the rebellion, that it becomes necessary to notice the circumstances, as a point interesting and important to Irish history. Sir Richard Musgrave has left no stone unturned, that he thought would affix blame and obloquy upon that prelate and the Catholic clergy of his diocese. Dr. Caulfield has truly observed in the Preface to his reply to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, "that if one tenth part of what is asserted by Sir Richard Musgrave were founded in fact, the parties would not at this day be alive to refute his calumnies."*

* Waving every idea of controversy about the conduct of Dr. Caulfield in these calamitous scenes it suffices to state two letters written to Dr. Troy by Colonel Littlehales, secretary to Lord Cornwallis, after the heat of the ferment had subsided, after the publication of Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs*, and a still more embittered pamphlet, most improperly called *Veridicus*, in which the baronet has employed his whole store of bile and rancour to criminate the bishop: these letters are vouchers, that government considered the subject of them in a light widely different from that, in which he has been attempted to be represented by Sir Richard Musgrave. They are official testimonies of his loyalty, and sanction the continuance of the fair historical narrative, regardless of the false statements, judgments, and inferences of the baronet and his female assistants.

Dublin Castle, May 11th, 1800.

"SIR,

"IN answer to the honour of your letter of the 9th instant, which I have laid before my lord lieutenant, I am to assure you, that government will give to Dr. Caulfield that protection, which, from his conduct and character as a loyal subject, he appears justly to merit.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and faithful servant,

"E. B. LITTLEHALES.

"The most Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.
North King Street."

Dublin Castle, June 30th, 1800.

"SIR,

"YOUR letter of the 28th current having reached me, with its enclosure from Dr. Caulfield, I have stated their contents to my lord lieute-

From the breaking out of the rebellion, the number of Catholic priests in the town of Wexford was greatly augmented beyond the resident and officiating clergymen of that town. Many, who lived in the neighbourhood,* immediately fled into the town to avoid being dragged to the camps, or forced at the point of the pike, as they were often threatened by the rebels: some for a time lurked in the rocks on the coast, and others abandoned their dwellings, and slept (if they could sleep) in ditches, hedges, or brakes of furze, to avoid the shame, the disgust, and the horrors of the camps, and the impious insults of the parties, who were frequently sent in search of them. These latterly also took refuge in the town. In defiance of a very strong bias from a certain quarter to inculcate the Roman Catholic clergy in this unhappy contest, it is notorious, that in the diocese of Wexford not one of those who had a flock, not one parish priest was implicated, or had any concern in fomenting, encouraging, or aiding the rebellion: but had they possessed that degree of authority or influence generally attributed to them, there would have been no rebellion in that county: or if they retained or obtained such influence after the rebellion broke out, their respective flocks would have laid down their arms, and returned to their respective homes, and to their allegiance to their king. Whilst Dr. Caulfield was endeavouring to prevail on a party of rebels, who were plundering the house of his next door neighbour, Mr. Matt. Kavannah, to desist and retire, they told him in a most insulting and menacing tone, that they had information against his house; they instantly rushed into it, and searched for what they called Orangemen, bad men, &c. In vain did the Rev. Mr. Corrin, who was then in the house, endeavour to remonstrate and exhort them; they treated him with equal insolence.

So radically had the infernal spirit of rebellion extinguished all sense of duty in the misguided wretches in this temporary phrenzy, that it became a service of as much danger to dehort them from their wicked purposes, as to hoist an orange cockade, or to threaten to flog, strangle, or piquet them.

Lord Kingsborough (now Earl of Kingston), the colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, was in Dublin when the

"nast, who desires me to say, that his excellency has no cause whatsoever to alter the opinion he has imbibed of the loyalty and proper deportment of Dr. Caulfield, whose letter I return.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and faithful servant,

"E. B. LITTLEHALES.

"The most Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.
North King Street."

* Caulfield's Rep. p. 4.

town was taken possession of by the rebels: but disbelieving the report of this disaster, he set out under that fatal incredulity to join his regiment: he travelled by land to Arklow, and thence proceeding by sea to Wexford, was taken prisoner with two officers of his own regiment off the harbour of that town.* The capture of Lord Kingsborough was considered by the rebels as an incident of peculiar importance to them, not only on account of his situation in life, but more especially as his lordship had ever been prominently forward in promoting the system of rigour and coercion so obnoxious to the United Irishmen. They had also further views upon his importance as an hostage, in case of their being driven to any terms of capitulation.

The monster Dixon, who retained with all his sanguinary ferocity a surprising influence over the lowest of that infuriate rabble, had amongst other means of inflaming them, the opportunity of a public house or inferior inn in the town, where his bloody satellites held their orgies.

On the 19th of June, General Edward Roche, and such of the insurgents of his neighbourhood as were at Vinegar Hill, were sent home to collect the whole mass of the people for general defence. By the march of the royal army in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off took place.

The alarm was now general throughout the whole country; all men were called to attend the camps; and Wexford became

* Sir Richard Musgrave gives the following account of his detention. "For two days his lordship was lodged at the house of General Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the prison ship, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private house, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh asked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingsborough replied, 'That they would hang every one of them.' On which Keugh observed, 'We know that we fight with halters round our necks.' The day of his lordship's arrival, Bagenal Harvey set out for the camp at Carrickburn, where the rebel army that attacked Ross was stationed. Keugh told Lord Kingsborough, 'that he would permit him to write to Lord Castlereagh, the lord lieutenant's secretary; but he said, he expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow prisoners were treated;' and he added, 'that he expected his friends Messrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackson, M'Cann, &c. would receive similar treatment.' He informed Lord Kingsborough, that the members of the Irish Union had no confidence in the opposition party in the Irish parliament, because they considered them as insincere, and that they had propounded Catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious designs.

"Mrs. Snowe, the wife of Captain Snowe, of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that Lord Kingsborough asked her soon after his capture, 'whether she thought the rebel chieftains would have put him to death?' she replied, 'she was sure they would not, because they regarded him as a very good hostage, should they enter into any stipulations for their own safety; and that by preserving his life they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and interest to secure their own.'

the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast, and gun-boats blocked up the entrance of the harbour: and from the commanding situation of the camp at the Three Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the troops, was clearly perceivable. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled towards Wexford as to an asylum, and described, according to their fears, the plunder and destruction of houses, the murders and outrages of the soldiery let loose and encouraged to range over and devastate the country. General Moore, who advanced with a part of the army, did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and had some of those outragers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were greatly baffled by the indomitable ferocity and revenge of the refugees returning home. Wexford regretted that general's being almost immediately ordered to Wicklow, where his conciliatory conduct and humanity were conspicuous, and will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people, who most eagerly flocked to his standard for protection.

While the principal inhabitants of Wexford were in consultation, to which they were now summoned, upon the best mode of self-preservation and defence, the order for all the armed men to appear in camp by break of day became imperious; and the outcry was so loud against the backwardness of the Wexford men, that several set off immediately. Captain Dixon, although booted, spurred, equipped, and accoutred for battle, refused to obey the orders of the commander in chief to attend at the Three Rocks. He was at the time in the act of sending whiskey to about 70 countrymen, whom he had posted in the barrack, and there detained for his abominable purpose of a general massacre. These he had also reinforced by some thousands of the most dastardly and unruly, and therefore the most savage and cruel of the mob, who refused to march to the camp. These men he also rendered the more savage and ferocious with liquor, and with these auxiliaries he undertook the horrid work of blood.

The victims were conducted in successive parcels, of from ten to twenty, with horrible solemnity, each parcel surrounded by its guard of butchers, and preceded by a black flag marked with a white cross, to the place of execution, where they were variously put to death, one after another, but mostly each by four men at once, who standing two before and two behind the victim, thrust their pikes into the body, and raising it from

the ground, held it suspended, writhing with pain, while any signs of life appeared. Some were slaughtered at the gaol, some at the market house, but the great butchery was on the bridge. A multitude of wretches, the greater part women, assembled to behold it, and rent the air with savage shouts of exultation at the arrival of each fresh parcel of victims at the fatal spot.

When 97 according to some or 35 according to other accounts had thus been butchered, the slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, was stopped at seven by the interference of Father Corrin, and the annunciation of the alarming intelligence, that the post of Vinegar Hill was beset by the king's troops, and that reinforcements were required in that quarter. Father Corrin having vainly supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they should proceed farther in the work of death, and having thus caused them to kneel, dictated a prayer, that God would shew the same mercy to them, which they should shew to the surviving prisoners. The respite thus procured would probably have been short, if the exhortations of the priest had not been aided by the news of danger, which was announced aloud by some person, said to be Richard Monagan, or Monck, arriving hastily in the town, and which caused the multitude of spectators immediately to disperse. The surviving captives at the bridge were after a short pause reconducted to prison by their guard, with denunciations of a general massacre of all the Protestants the next day. The atrocity of these inhuman butcheries was aggravated by the mockery of justice, with which the monster Dixon attempted to sanction them. By the exertions of Mr. Edward Hay and some others, Dixon had been foiled in his particular vengeance against the life of Mr. Turner and Mr. Gainsford, whose blood the mob loudly called for, as they had led out the army against them on Whitsunday, and had burned several of their houses. A summary court of seven sat immediately upon those two gentlemen, and four of them being for their acquittal, the impetuous Dixon was about to retire in disgust and indignation, at being thus thwarted in his career of blood. But unfortunately at that critical moment, one Jackson, an Englishman, a carver and gilder, (the narrator of the Wexford cruelties) and one O'Connor, an organist, threw themselves on their knees to Captain Dixon, acknowledged themselves *Orangemen*, and ready to give every information, provided their lives might be spared. Dixon greedily availed himself of their proposal, as it afforded a new prospect of perpetrating his infernal designs. He instantly addressed the people assembled before the gaol, stating, that two *Orangemen* had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unnecessary, as the evidence of these

men must be conclusive. It may easily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and echoed by his wife, the populace became ungovernable. The people instantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all Orangemen should be sent out to them. Eighteen intended for execution were first conducted from the gaol, under a strong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by two Orange informers, whom he wished to exhibit as the grand support of his conduct. The fate of the prisoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge. The proceedings concerning them were summary indeed. It was asked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim sufficient to save his life? If no answer were made, the assertion of an individual of some deed against the people, was conclusive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the consequence, on this primary denunciation by Captain Dixon.*

* The following letter of Dr. Caulfield, though not intended for publication, I have considered as too material to be suppressed from the public. It was written in the next month after the tragical scene at Wexford.

Wexford, July 31, 1798.

"To the Right Rev. Dr. TROY.

"It is impossible for me to gratify your curiosity, as I cannot collect or recollect the particulars of our conduct, or the individuals we endeavoured to serve or save during three long weeks of tragical confusion; and if I could, I really feel that modesty and decency would forbid me, because it would appear, that we claimed gratitude from the individuals, and acknowledgements from the public, which as it strikes me would appear ostentatious and indecorous. Certain it is, we could name many, very many persons, who, I apprehend, would not be pleased at seeing their names and religious professions published by us. I can say, there is not a Protestant, Presbyterian or Quaker in this town or adjoining baronies of Forth, Bargo, Keelmaler, Ballaghkeen, besides many from Enniscorthy, and other more remote parts, who fled and flocked in here, except such as quitted the country, that did not call on us for protection, and that we were employed from morning till night writing, speaking, and pleading for them, to procure protection from the leaders or chiefs of the insurrection, and in general we succeeded for the first fortnight. After that, the evil sanguinary spirit broke loose, and no protection availed. Our houses were constantly thronged, and every part, garrets, back houses, yards, every place filled with the people, their furniture, goods of all kinds. But, it soon became treason to plead for protection, for they were all Orangemen, and would destroy us all. In vain did we urge humanity, charity, religion, mercy. I declared, if any of them had killed my friend, my brother, or father, that I would protect and save him, if he threw himself on my mercy; for it was by shewing mercy, that I could expect mercy myself. This conduct and language graduated me equal to an Orangeman; my house must be pulled down or burnt, and my head knocked off. This last sentence was boldly pronounced to my face, surrounded as I was by four or five thousand pikes, spears, or muskets, when I was striving to save Lord Kingsborough's life, which we providentially effected by gaining over a few of those rebels, who had influence over the rest. That task engaged me from nine o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, during which time I had not a moment's rest, nor did I expect it in this wicked world, and I was alone, *i. e.* without any of the clergy with me the latter part of the day, except the Rev. James Roche, who mostly remained within doors with Lord Kingsborough. There were other priests there too,

We must leave the tumultuary horrors of Wexford to follow the movements of the army, which led to the final liberation of

from the country, but dared not shew themselves or speak, for fear of pikes, &c. I remained until the king's army began to come in (it was Thursday the 21st of June), then I was in as perilous a situation as ever, not knowing but an indiscriminate slaughter might be their first act. However, I sat down with Lord Kingsborough and some others at his place of concealment to a bit of salt beef at the fall of night, and got a Captain Bourke of the North Cork militia, a worthy fellow, to escort me home. Two days before this the demon of murder broke out, and a banditti as if dispatched from hell assailed the gaol and barrack, both crammed with prisoners, and called them out by dozens to be executed, and two prison ships in the harbour, to be brought out, two others to be executed on the bridge. The Rev. Mr. Corrin dined with me, for my cry to the clergy was, that we should keep together, living or dying; and at the close of dinner a call for him came from Mr. Kellet, who was brought from the ship to the bridge for execution. He ran with all speed, and found Kellet and several others waiting the awful moment. He addressed the wretches in the best manner he could, warned them, that the blood they were spilling and to spill must shortly appear against them at the awful tribunal of God, and conjured them to stop, &c. &c. They did so, Kellet and the rest were allowed to live, and after that there was no massacre. Some days before there was a similar attack on the gaol, when Rev. Messrs. Corrin and Broe happened to be there and prevented its intended effect. On the above mentioned day, Mr. Corrin went home with Mr. Kellett, and all I could do could not bring him to town for near a week, although I sent him General Lake's protection. He had really pined away to a skeleton. My condition was, providentially for me, the reverse; for I never felt myself more vigorous, and the more pressing the difficulty and the more imminent the danger the firmer and the more steady was I. I had made up my mind to the worst at the set out, and afterwards took every occurrence as preparatory to the fatal moment I apprehended, and thus continued in unimpaired health, till the week before the last, when I was visited by a painful complaint for six days, but have got well rid of it, thank God. Indeed, the clergy of this town conducted themselves with zeal and activity through the whole, except while on board the vessel in harbour to which they occasionally fled to escape the fire, fury, &c. of the pikemen. When the rebels were defeated every where, and the king's army was approaching, a gentleman, my close neighbour, came to me and told me, he would go out to meet them at the risk of his life, and represent me to the commander as the protector of the Protestants, &c. I thanked him and said, that government well knew my loyalty, and I was satisfied gave proper instructions to the commanders, that I had nothing to fear from the king's forces except, by a general conflagration, but if necessary, I would avail myself of his kind offices, &c. I mentioned to you in a former letter my introduction to General Lake and his polite and kind attention to me, to the clergy, &c. His stay was short; but General Hunter, the day after he came here, called on me. I can't say it was so much a visit, as a confidential friendly conference. He has occasionally called on me since in the same confidential way, nor can I determine whether he deserves more credit for his sound understanding and judgment, or for his humane, compassionate feelings. He knows the spirit of prejudice prevailing here, as if he had lived many years among us. He condemns it as inimical to peace, tranquillity, and the public good. In a word, Providence has sent him a protecting angel to us. Now, my dear friend, do not call on me for further general detail; for I assure you, it sickens me on recollection, more than in the actual suffering. *Infandum amice, jubes renovare dolorem.* Through the whole I appeared publicly and with every degree of confidence, and for several days was stopt in the street at every step, to receive gratulations and thanks from the Protestants, for having saved them. Wishing you every happiness, I remain, &c.

that town from the ruthless tyranny of the rebels. After the battle at Arklow the royal army remained some days close within its quarters, sending out patrols with great caution, at first to a very small distance, and afterwards gradually farther. At last a troop of yeomen cavalry ventured so far on the road toward Gorey as to approach near the rebel station on Ask Hill. This post had been so thinned by perpetual desertions, that not more than a hundred men fit for action were then remaining in it, and these without a leader. About half of them fled with precipitation at the approach of the cavalry; the rest stripping to their shirts that they might be more expedite for the business, ran full speed to charge the cavalry with their pikes: but the latter avoided the attack, and retreated to Arklow with expedition. Immediately after, the country about Gorey was evacuated by the rebels, to the excessive joy of the loyalists, on whom they had been living at free quarter.

The army, at last, under Major General Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by Lieutenant General Lake, that the great station of the rebels at Vinegar Hill should be surrounded by his majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters; one under Lieutenant General Dundas; another under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth from Ross, under Major Generals Johnson and Eustace, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. The march of the army from Ross was a kind of surprise to the bands of Philip Roche, on Lacken Hill, who fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, where the Wexford insurgents were concentrating their force. This eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles round had been in possession of the rebels from the 28th of May, during which time the face of affairs had been indescribably

P. S. I did not go to the gaol or prison ship at all, nor did I hear of the horrid murders committed there, till the bloody scene was over, and it was then too late. I could not find that there were more than two or three of this town engaged in the massacres; for the townsmen had been that morning ordered out to camp near Enniscorthy, and a horde of miscreants, like so many blood-hounds, rushed in from the country, and swore they would burn the town, if the prisoners were not given up to them; and, at the time there was not a force sufficient to restrain them. Indeed, most of the United men themselves shuddered at the horrid deeds. Lord Kingsborough, Messrs. Kellett and Bland, and many other Protestant gentlemen may be applied to for particular information concerning my conduct and that of the Catholic clergy of this town, on and previous to the 21st of June, when the king's army entered it.

horrid. Of the hapless prisoners, who had fallen into the hands of the rebels, some were put to death when taken, but most were dragged to Vinegar Hill, where, after a sham trial, often without any form of trial, many of them were shot, or transfixed with pikes; some lashed, or otherwise barbarously treated before their final* execution. Reports have carried the numbers of men thus butchered on this fatal spot to about four hundred in all. The Rev. Mr. Gordon gives a singular instance of his own parish of Killegny, five miles to the south-west of Enniscorthy, from the general slaughter; not one Protestant of that parish having been killed in the rebellion, nor a house burned. These people surrounded on all sides before they were aware, found flight impracticable. Their preservation he ascribes to their temporizing conformity with the Roman Catholic worship. The army employed to surround the rebel post of Vinegar Hill, constituted a force of about thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With this force the whole insurgent army at this post, in which lay the great strength of the rebellion, might have been completely surrounded. The attack began at seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, with a firing of cannon and mortars. All the divisions were at their respective posts, except that of General Needham, who either from neglect or accident arrived not at his appointed position till nine, when the business was over. The rebels, after sustaining the fire of the artillery and small arms for an hour and an half, abandoned their station and fled where the passage lay open for them, which was the avenue intended to have been occupied by General Needham, most of them directing their course towards Wexford. Some hundreds were killed, who were found straggling from the main body after the battle; but most of all the real rebels escaped, and those who fell under the swords of the pursuers, were persons who had been forced away contrary to their inclinations, or who took that opportunity of escaping from the rebel army, or loyal prisoners.† As the

* The rebel General Murphy experienced similar treatment from the army. He was tauntingly desired to work miracles, and otherwise scoffed at and insulted by a young officer, who went the length of offering a most indecent insult to his person, which so irritated his feelings, that, though on the very brink of eternity, he doubled his fist and knocked down the officer at a blow; upon which he was unmercifully flagellated and instantly hanged.

† Doctor Hill, of Saint John's near Enniscorthy, a gentleman highly esteemed by all his acquaintance, was with his two brothers, within a hair's breadth of augmenting the number of slaughtered loyalists on this occasion. These three gentlemen, who had been prisoners with the rebels, and in the most imminent danger of their lives, ran for protection to the first whom they saw of the royal troops, and these happened to be Hessians. Three of these protectors immediately put their cocked pistols to the heads of the three gentlemen, when a pikeman, running at full speed past them to escape from other soldiers, diverted their attention for the moment: they thought proper to dispatch him first, but he led them such a chase as saved the gentlemen.

flight of the rebels was precipitate, they left behind them a great quantity of rich plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number, of which three were six-pounders. The loss on the side of the king's forces was very inconsiderable, though one officer, Lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford Militia, was killed, and four others slightly wounded, Colonel King of the Sligo regiment, Colonel Vesey of the county of Dublin regiment, Lord Blaney, and Lieutenant, Colonel Cole.*

Enniscorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the rebels, many loyalists in it were relieved from a dreadful state of terror. Excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who made no distinction between loyalists and rebels. The most remarkable act of this kind was the firing of a house, which had been used as an hospital by the rebels, in which numbers of sick and wounded who were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes.†

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day with Enniscorthy, Brigadier General Moore, according to the plan formed by General Lake, having made a movement towards that quarter from the side of Ross on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery; and having directed his march to Tagmon, in his intended way to Enniscorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the enemy from Wexford, perhaps five or six thousand, near a place called Goff's Bridge, not far from Hore Town. After an action, which continued till near eight, the rebels were repulsed

* Great discontents prevailed in the army upon General Needham's conduct on this as on a former occasion. *Non nostrum est*, to institute a court of enquiry upon those, whose conduct has been commended by the commanding officer. It has raised a personal contest between Sir Richard Musgrave and Mr. Gordon. The general has not a very powerful or persuasive advocate. The sarcastical appellations which became general after the action of the *late General Needham* and *General Needham's gap*, shew on which side the mass of inculpation lay. The following, however, is the official account given by General Lake, and published by government, of as much of that transaction as General Needham was or ought to have been engaged in. "Lieutenant General Dundas commanded the centre column, supported by a column upon the right under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left, was commanded by the Honourable Major General Needham. To the determined spirit, with which these columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the short resistance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obstinately for the time above mentioned, but on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation.

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, he was informed by a surgeon, that the burning was accidental, the bed clothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldier's guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

with considerable slaughter, and not without some loss on the other side. By the evolutions of the soldiery, and the rebels' want of subordination to their chiefs, their pikemen were prevented from coming into action; so that no more than five hundred and sixty of their gun-men were really engaged. Yet the combat was long doubtful.

Joined by two regiments under Lord Dalhousie, the army took post on the field of battle; and on the morning of the 21st was proceeding to Taghmon, when Captain M'Manus, of the Antrim, and Lieutenant Hay, of the North Cork militia, who had been prisoners with the rebels, arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided their lives and properties should be guaranteed by the commanding officer. To these proposals, which were forwarded to his superior commander, no answer was returned, by General Moore; but, instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he immediately directed his march to Wexford, and stationed his army within a mile of that town.

We left Wexford contaminated with the butchery of some unfortunate prisoners, to which Father Corrin had, by his exertions, put a stop for that day.* It has been the constant assertion or assumption of most writers upon these scenes, that on the next day every drop of Protestant blood in Wexford was to have been spilled. True it may be, that the ferocious

* Mr. Edward Hay, who was an eye-witness and a principal actor in many of the most important transactions at Wexford, has given the following account of the extent of this bloody scene on the 20th of June (p. 220.)

"Dreadful and shocking events are most subject to misrepresentations, as individuals will imagine excesses according to their several feelings; and although it is confidently asserted, that ninety-seven were put to death on the bridge, I have good reason to believe that thirty-five was the number that suffered. Among the various occupations assumed by different persons in the course of this melancholy catastrophe, one man, in a most audible voice, counted the victims one by one, as they were put to death; and I have further reason to believe, that thirty-five was the exact number of sufferers on the bridge, and one at the gaol door; amounting in all, that day in Wexford, to thirty-six; as on most particular enquiry, even with the help of the lists published, as well as from personal knowledge, I am enabled to know, that several who are stated to have been sacrificed on the bridge that day, suffered not then, nor there, nor at all in Wexford; so that I hope humanity will induce a future retraction of the lists alluded to, not only as the assertors have been evidently imposed upon, but as also their publication must help to keep up those animosities, which they profess they do not wish to encourage. But, if writers will persist in publishing those lists, why not, for the sake of general and true information, publish the number of the killed and wounded, by whatever means, on both sides; since it must stamp the character of a partisan to detail but one side of the question? On that ever-to-be-lamented day, there are many, who ran great risque of personal safety in becoming advocates for the unfortunate: I wish I could learn of as many, who exhibited equal proof of sincerity in favour of the hapless and ill-fated people! Were this the case, I verily believe I should not have to relate the dreadful desolation in the county of Wexford."

Dixon, who, with his assassins intoxicated with revenge, fury and whiskey, had let out so much innocent blood on that day, had not been satiated, and that they vociferated their infernal project of continuing the immolations on the next day. But suffice it for the historian faithfully to narrate the facts that have existed. Although it be allowed on all hands that Father Corrin put a stop to these inhuman butcheries, about seven o'clock in the evening, it has appeared to many persons, that the *Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exculpated from the imputation at least of not preventing these massacres, as it is natural to conclude, that their influence upon the rebels must have been as great at two as it was at seven of the clock of the same day. The reply of Dr. Caulfield to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, not only contains much historical information, but furnishes the only species of refutation, which the strictest historical justice can require. The evidence of the party will have its weight with the candid public, according to the credit it deserves. This writer (Sir Richard Musgrave) proceeds, and quotes from Mr. George Taylor's History of the Rebellion, in the county of Wexford: "That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being shocked at the cries of the victims, ran to the Popish bishop, who was then drinking wine, with the utmost composure, after dinner: and knowing that he could stop the massacre sooner than any other person, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and save the prisoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, 'it was no affair of his; and requested the captain would sit down and take a glass of wine with him,' adding, 'that the people must be gratified:' the captain refused," &c. &c.

To this public, solemn, and hateful charge, Dr. Caulfield thus publicly, solemnly, and pointedly replies:

"Now I solemnly declare to God and man, that no such captain or man came or applied to me; and that any captain or man (or even Mr. Taylor himself) who gave such information, gave a false and unfounded one.

* More faith may perhaps be given to what Charles Jackson relates of others than of himself, particularly as to the means of saving his own life: his testimony of the conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy is very explicit. "The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy of Wexford cannot be too much commended. The titular Bishop Caulfield, Father Corrin, Father Broe, and indeed the whole of the priests and friars of that town, on all occasions, used their interest and exerted their abilities in the cause of humanity. Every Sunday, after mass, they addressed their audiences, and implored them in the most earnest manner not to ill treat their prisoners, and not to have upon their consciences the reflection of having shed innocent blood. When they heard of executions going forward, they flew to the spot, and by every entreaty endeavoured to rescue the victims from destruction. Sometimes they succeeded; and, when they failed, they shewed sufficiently how sensibly they felt for the unhappy persons they could not save. The gallant Lord Kingsborough owed his life to the resolute interposition of the Catholic bishop."

"Then comes on: 'Mrs. O'Neil, went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge; he was one of the first persons taken out of the prison-ship; yet Dr. Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was present, until Mr. Kellet sent a messenger for him; and there were many persons massacred in the interval between Mrs. O'Neil's complaint, and the deliverance of Mr. Kellet.' The real fact is, that Mrs. O'Neil only lamented the actual previous murder of her nephew, Edward Turner, but did not mention the death, the murder, or massacre of any other individual, much less a general massacre. She was not many minutes gone, when a messenger came to Mr. Corrin from Mr. Kellet, who, he said, was then on the bridge: Mr. Corrin went out to speak to the messenger, and returned in great fright and horror to tell me the message, and ran off speedily: nor did this messenger, in his hurry, mention any other to be killed, or in danger, but Mr. Kellet alone. So that I can with a clear conscience repeat what I said before; and now solemnly protest and declare in the presence of Almighty God, my awful judge, and of the court of heaven, that I was absolutely ignorant of that massacre being intended, or perpetrated, until some hours after it had ceased. Nor did I see or hear of a * black flag that day, however incredible it may appear to Sir Richard, for I kept mostly in my own house (and particularly that day), except when I was sent for by some Protestant neighbour; and my residence is adjoining the town wall, and shut in from the street, of which I have no view, nor of the town, except of the tops of a few houses, and even them, for the most part, outside the town: so that as I am seldom out, I seldom know what passes in the street or town, until I am informed by others."†

* Mr. Hay, p. 222. gives the following account of the black flag: "The black flag that appeared in Wexford on that day is, among other things, talked of with various chimerical conjectures, and its notoriety as denouncing massacre has been confidently recorded; notwithstanding that it is an absolute fact, that this identical black flag was, throughout the whole insurrection, borne by a particular corps, and the carrying of banners of that colour was by no means a singular circumstance during that period, as flags of that and every other hue, except orange, were waved by the insurgents; and from their different dyes ingenious conjectures, however groundless, for the maintenance of prejudice, may be made as to the several dispositions of the bodies who moved under them, as little founded in fact or intention, as was the original destination of the black ensign in question."

† This statement of Dr. Caulfield is confirmed by the following oath of Mr. Corrin.....For some other oaths and declarations upon this subject, vide Appendix, No. CXV.

County of Wexford to wit.]....Rev. John Corrin, of Wexford, came before me this day, and made a voluntary and solemn oath on the Holy Evangelists, that Dr. Caulfield dined at home in his own house on Wednesday the 20th of June, 1798, and this deponent dined with him there on the same day: that this de-

The following historical account is given by Dr. Caulfield himself of the transactions of the 21st of June ; which, abstracting from the personal respectability of his character, cannot be supposed to have been falsely given with so much solemn notoriety in defiance of thousands of eye-witnesses amongst whom he was to continue, as he still does, to abide, with the solace and support of unimpeachable veracity and honour :....

" * Having received a most pressing message from Lord Kingsborough and Captain Keugh, early on the morning of Thursday the 21st of June, 1798, I hastened to them, to the house of Robert Meyler, where Lord Kingsborough was still a prisoner. On my arrival, Captain Keugh told me, he had that morning given up the government of the town to Lord Kingsborough, and the mayoralty to Dr. Jacob ; they both told me the rebels were beaten and routed everywhere, and were pouring into the town by thousands, from all quarters ; that if they continued any time in the town, they would proceed to murder all the prisoners, as they had declared the day before ; and that if the troops should overtake them in town, they would make a general slaughter of them, and perhaps indiscriminately of the inhabitants, and reduce the town to ashes : that the only means of preventing these shocking disasters, was to get the rebels out of town ; that a strong representation of their own danger, and of Lord Kingsborough's negotiations with the military commanders and government, would have more weight with the rebels than any exhortations or consideration of duty. They then called on and conjured me to exert myself, and to call the rest of the clergy to help me to prevail on the rebels, as they came in, to leave the town, for their own and the general safety.

" In this state of things, I did not skulk or fly (as perhaps I might), I immediately sent to the clergy ; they came to assist

ponent verily believes, that Doctor Caulfield was not apprized of the massacre perpetrated on the bridge of Wexford on that day, until it had ceased : that he would have prevented that and all other murders and atrocious acts committed during the late horrid rebellion, had he the power to do so. This deponent further swears, that being out of town on duty, that day, from twelve o'clock to a quarter past four in the evening, he was not apprized of any one having been murdered on that day, until some time after his return Mrs. Catherine O'Neil, alias Goodhall, came to Dr. Caulfield's, and told the doctor and him, that her nephew, Edward Turner, had just been killed, without mentioning any general massacre, which this deponent had no knowledge of, until receiving a pressing message from Mr. Kellet, he hastened to the bridge, where he perceived several devoted victims, who, after this deponent had on his knees with tears and entreaties addressed the furious rabble, were all by Divine Providence spared."

JOHN CORRIN.

Sworn before me this 10th day of April, 1801.

JOHN LYSER.

* Report, p. 15.

“ me, and not only they, but many or most of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Wexford, loyal men, (though some to save themselves had been obliged to appear as rebels) nay even real professed rebels aided us. Mr. Perry, the notable Captain Dixon, &c. helped us; we did our utmost from nine or ten in the morning to the going down of the sun, and under God, we succeeded in prevailing on the rebels to leave the town; and thereby prevented all the mischief and misfortunes, which might and probably would attend and follow from their remaining in it. There was no prisoner put to death, no Protestant murdered, no houses burnt, (though several of the rebels threatened, and some of them attempted to set fire to the town) no disaster took place, all was saved, prisoners, protestants, inhabitants, and the town were safe.

“ When the occasion, the only one, and the circumstances occurred in which I thought I could act with some effect, I set out with all the energy of my mind and body, regardless of my own life, (which was repeatedly in imminent danger) or of any other consideration than that before me, the common safety. I traversed many thousand rebels on that day, exhorting, beseeching, sometimes standing in a wood of pikes, or striving to walk through them, and sometimes on my knees, conjuring them to depart; those who came in latest were the most obstinate, sanguinary, and infuriate, on whom we could hardly make any impression; so that from constant and vehement speaking, I got quite hoarse, and from unremitting exertion I became so exhausted, so languid and faint, that I despaired of effecting my purpose, and would have given it up, were it not that the people of the town and many rebels of more humanity and reason still pressed me to continue. I did so until the square, the streets, the town was cleared of rebels, except that a few stragglers might have lurked in private houses. Such was my conduct on that memorable and fortunate day.

“ The transaction, to which I here refer, was public and notorious. I call upon any person who can, to controvert the truth of my statement. Before I close this narrative, I must add, that the representations made so successfully by the clergy, upon this occasion, would have produced little effect whilst the rebels entertained sanguine hopes of success, much less whilst they were elated and rendered confident by an appearance of victory. When we addressed them, they were routed, and their force broken by disasters; applying ourselves to them at that critical moment, and holding out to them a prospect of pardon, which was the only hope they could indulge in such circumstances, we were the instru-

"ments under God of softening the unruly multitude into forbearance.

"It is obvious that Lord Kingsborough might have been spared or saved, for reasons or circumstances that did not operate for others, or for any other individual. He was a nobleman of interest and consequence, an important hostage, a military man treating with military commanders for favourable terms for the rebels; these circumstances and considerations did not attend or attach to other individuals, and which must have weight with even a rebel in his serious and cool senses, particularly in so perilous a situation. Hence I think it fair to say, that his lordship might have been spared, though others had suffered. But, thank God, the truth is, no one suffered on that day or occasion."*

Lord Kingsborough certainly was considered by the rebel chiefs as a valuable hostage; and perhaps if they had fully

* The Rev. Mr. Gordon is called upon by Dr. Caulfield in his reply (p. 19) if he cannot deny with effect, which he defies him to do, the statement which he solemnly declared to be the absolute truth, that he would change or withdraw his hypothetic argument and invidious conclusion; probably alluding to the supposed or assumed possibility of preventing the massacres, at two o'clock, by the persons who had influence enough to stop them at seven. Mr. Gordon in his 2d edition says, (p. 186) "I have apparently no right, and therefore no inclination to deny the Doctor's (Caulfield) statement." He then refers to his own Appendix, No. 5, which contains a letter from Dr. Caulfield to a Magistrate, which appeared much in his favour, and which may also be seen in the Appendix to this work, No. CXVI. Upon this subject Mr. Gordon had thus argued (p. 183) which had dissatisfied Dr. Caulfield: "Much has been written in the accusation and defence of the Romish clergy of Wexford, who are said to have refused to interfere until five hours of butchery had elapsed, and the news of the menacing movements of the king's forces arrived; though their influence might be supposed as powerful at two o'clock, when the massacre commenced, as at seven. I must confess myself incompetent to form an accurate judgment in this controversy: to attempt to stop the slaughter of real or supposed rebels, where the loyalists were victorious, would have been not only altogether fruitless in a Protestant clergyman, but even extremely dangerous to his personal safety. Certainly the influence of the Romish clergy over their followers (which, however, seems at present in a state of decline) is beyond all comparison greater than that of the Protestant over theirs; yet to what extent that influence might, among so infuriate a rabble have been safely or successfully exerted; or how far constitutional timidity, or well grounded fear, may be justly admitted as a plea, I cannot pretend to determine. Dr. Caulfield, the Romish bishop, succeeded, with apparently extreme difficulty, in his endeavours to rescue from the assassins, Lord Kingsborough, Colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had rendered himself particularly an object of hatred, at least, to the rebels, by actions, concerning the utility of which to the loyal party I shall not presume to give judgment, but leave the decision to the loyalists of Wexford, who saw the example which he set, and the discipline which he maintained in the regiment. The limitation of the Doctor's interference to a person of high rank, who might in reverse of fortune repay the service, has with seeming justice been deemed by some a proof of interested conduct; and his success, in favour of so obnoxious a subject, an irrefragable argument of his ability to save many others."

availed themselves of this advantage, some terms might have been obtained in their favour; though of the lives of hostages no account seems to have been made by many of the commanders of his majesty's troops. The offers of surrender transmitted by Captain M'Manus, and forwarded by general Moore to his superior, were disdainfully rejected by General Lake, who returned for answer, that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms, but that the deluded multitude might have peace and protection when their arms and leaders should have been delivered into his hands.

Ensign Harman of the North Cork, who was sent with Mr. Carthy by Lord Kingsborough on a second mission to General Moore, was intercepted and shot, almost as soon as he had quitted the town, by one Timothy Whelan, a furious maniac, who having shot Ensign Harman, snapped a pistol at Mr. Carthy, who instantly returned into town. This ruffian afterward had the audacity, to attempt the life of Lord Kingsborough, in order to put an end at once to all accommodation; he would have been ordered for instant execution by the chiefs, but for fear of irritating the great body of the populace, too ready in such perturbed times to mistake desperation for heroism, and to substitute instant vengeance upon the unresisting for zeal and prowess in the general cause.

After the evacuation of Wexford by the main body of the rebels, Father Philip Roche, accompanied by three gentlemen of that denomination, met in his way out of town four men from the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, who said, that they were going into Wexford to put the prisoners to death, since others had not the courage to do it, while Roche with a drawn sword commanded them to turn back without entering the town, and one of them presented a blunderbuss at him, and swore that none should prevent them: the three gentlemen of Roche's company fled, leaving him to contend alone with the four murderers. After a furious altercation the matter was compounded. The murderers took a solemn oath (and the low Irish consider an oath to a priest as peculiarly binding) that they would merely take a little refreshment, and immediately quit the town without the perpetration of any mischief. It cannot therefore be said, that the dreadful apprehensions of a general massacre by the rebels before they evacuated the town, were altogether without reason and grounds; though not founded either in the conduct or principles of the leaders, or the system or regular organization of their discipline, as appears from the before mentioned proclamations.

The insurgents were at length prevailed on, by the incessant entreaties and exertions of their chiefs, to quit the town. They divided themselves into two bodies: one under the command

of the Reverend Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh; the other, under the conduct of Messieurs Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppard's Castle, where they took their station for that night.

General Moore, availing himself of the retreat of the rebels, and having been informed by Captain Bourke of the peaceable disposition of the Wexford people, had approached within two miles of the town, when Captain Boyd, the representative of Wexford (now returning home in General Moore's train) made many cautious and minute inquiries, from Captain Bourke, who had been come recently from that town, and having himself, from the commanding elevation of the road, observed the retreat of the insurgents over the bridge, entered the town attended with eight yeomen, almost with as much precipitancy, as he had formerly abandoned it; loudly declaring the army at his heels. The face of the town was instantly changed: persons, who but the moment before appeared anxious to demonstrate their friendship for the rebels, instantaneously changed sides, and vied with each other in exhibiting symptoms of their loyalty. General Moore, on consultation with Lord Kingsborough, thought it most advisable not to let his troops into the town, which it had previously been determined to annihilate before the negociation had been proposed; so that it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked and destroyed. General Moore took his station on the Windmill Hills, which completely commanded the town. A sloop of war, and three gun-boats were so stationed, that Wexford was thoroughly invested both by land and water. No sooner had the army entered the town, than all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword, and some of the straggling inhabitants lost their lives, notwithstanding the most express orders of General Moore, that no kind of excess should be committed.

Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties, several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger; but they were soon taken up and committed to gaol. The Reverend Philip Roche had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for those under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger, that he advanced within the lines, before he was recognized. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the Camp on the

Windmill Hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted and at length hauled down to the gaol in such a condition as scarcely to be recognized. The people whom he had left, in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival, but at last being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and set off under the command of the Reverend John Murphy to Fook's Mill, and so on, through Scollaghgap, into the county of Carlow.

From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel of Ballemurein, besides several houses in the neighbourhood. The principal of these were that of Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald, and that of Mr. Edmund Stafford, mistaking it for the dwelling of General Edward Roche. In short, death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so severely, that scarcely a man escaped: the old and harmless suffered whilst they who had the use of their limbs and were guilty, had previously made off with the main body of the people. *The dead bodies scattered about, with their throats cut across, and mangled in the most shocking manner, exhibited scenes exceeding the usual horrors of war. The soldiery on this occasion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompesche, were permitted to indulge in such ferocity and brutal lust to the sex, that must perpetuate hatred and horror of the army to generations.

The northern part of the county of Wexford had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants on the 19th, at the approach of the army under General Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who had formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the 21st, and on finding no officer of the army as was expected to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to a body of the insurgents, encamped at Peppard's Castle, on the 22d, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their associates, upon the near approach of the insurgents, fled back with precipitation: and thence accompanied by many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with the loss of forty-seven men. The day was called bloody Friday. The insurgents had been exasperated.

* Hay's History of the Insurrection in the county of Wexford, p. 245.

rated to this vengeance by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children: they even met the dead bodies of two women, about which their surviving children were creeping and bewailing them! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the pigs in the streets devouring the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, with several others recently shot, and some still expiring.

After the return of the insurgents from the pursuit, several persons were found lurking in the town, and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Peppard, sovereign of Gorey; but from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty, which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, on so trying an occasion were remarkable; forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted his utmost endeavours to restrain the insurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favourites, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey; when after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White Heaps on Croghan mountain, and on the 23d set off for the mountains of Wicklow.

In the midst of these scenes of blood and slaughter, it must not be forgotten, that the Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June, 1798, with a plenitude of power exceeding that of his predecessor, by the supremacy of the military command having been superadded to the civil government of the country. This appointment in this critical juncture appears under providence to have been the immediate salvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrolled ferociousness of the soldiery, by stopping military executions, suspending the sentences of courts martial till he had himself revised the minutes, by converting the system of coercion and terrorism into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himself the hatred of the Orangemen, by bringing to bear the incorporate Union with Great Britain, as the efficient means of redressing popular grievances and crushing the seeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the subsistence of Orangism. Immediately upon his arrival, he assumed the reins of government. In the first days of his administration the old system was completely acted upon in the final settlement of the Wexford rebellion.

This instantly convinced his excellency of the imperious necessity of that total change of system, which was soon after established throughout the kingdom, so much to the honour of the chief governor and to the welfare of the British empire. These posthumous acts of the extorted system of coercion in the final scenes at Wexford, will be properly noticed at present, before we draw the attention of the reader to the progress of the rebellion in other parts of the kingdom.

After the total evacuation of the town of Wexford by the rebel forces, under a general confidence that their proposal and Lord Kingsborough's undertaking would have been attended to and observed, General Lake entered the town on the 22d of June, in the morning, and remained there with his staff for several days, in the house lately occupied by the rebel Governor Keugh. Although the town were providentially not delivered over to be sacked and demolished by the military, yet almost all the principal inhabitants were immediately taken up, confined to gaol, and arraigned for treason. Captain Keugh had remained at Lord Kingsborough's lodgings, and after the surrender of the town two sentinels were placed on him there for two days, when he was removed to the gaol. Mr. Cornelius, Grogan was taken at his seat at Johnstown where he had remained, unconscious of any danger until conducted to prison. Mr. Bagenal Harvey had gone to his residence at Bargycastle, in plenary confidence that the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingsborough, would be ratified; and under that conviction he sent some fat cattle into Wexford for the use of the army; but learning from the messenger who drove them thither, that no conditions whatever would be obtained, he hastened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previously taken his wife and child to one of the Saltee islands, where he thought to have weathered out the storm of the angry time in a cave, which he had resorted to for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey also repaired; they were all soon discovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford, while they were making the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of people to the quay, curious to see them brought in, and amidst this concourse Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to the gaol, where they were confined in the condemned cells.

A court martial was instituted for the trial of prisoners on charges of treason. The Reverend Philip Roche was the first tried and condemned by this tribunal. Captain Keugh was the next put on his trial, at which he made a very able defence, but was also condemned. The entrance of the wooden bridge was the scene fixed on for the place of execution. The large

stature of the Reverend Philip Roche caused the rope he was hauled up with to break ; but another was soon procured, and his life was ended with double torture. The head of Captain Keugh was separated from his body, and placed on a pike over the front of the court house. Their bodies, together with those of others executed at the same time, were stripped and treated with the utmost brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Mr. Grogan was brought to trial on the 26th, but the evidence, which he hoped to obtain of his innocence, did not attend on account of the general apprehension that prevailed. His trial was therefore postponed, and he was remanded to gaol. Mr. Harvey was then put on his trial, which lasted for the best part of the day, and ended in his condemnation. Mr. Grogan's trial was then resumed ; but this he did not expect until the next day, and consequently he had not been able to procure all the necessary evidence. It was indeed proved, that he was forced to join the insurgents, but this did not prevent a sentence of conviction. The condemnation of these gentlemen was afterwards confirmed by the Irish parliament, which passed an act of attainder against them, and a confiscation of their properties ; on the parliamentary enquiry into the merit of these proceedings, it appeared that the court martial had not been even sworn ; Mr. Grogan has been considered by very many as sacrificed to the violent temper of the times. On the 27th Messrs. Harvey, Grogan, and Mr. Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster in Wexford, were ordered out to execution. They were conducted to the bridge, and there hanged : the heads of Messrs. Grogan and Harvey were cut off, and placed upon pikes upon each side of that of Captain Keugh ; their bodies were stripped and treated with the usual brutal indecencies, before they were cast over the bridge ! Mr. Colclough was tried on the same day, and condemned. On the next day he was executed, but his body, at the intercession of his lady, was given up to her to be interred. Mr. John Kelly of Killan, whose courage and intrepidity had been so conspicuous at the battle of Ross, now lay ill in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement ; he was taken prisoner from his bed, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a car to the place of execution, his head was cut off, and his body, after the accustomed indignities, was thrown over the bridge. The head, however, was reserved for other exhibition. It was first kicked about on the custom house quay, and then brought up into the town, thrown up and treated in the same manner opposite the house in which his sister lodged, in order that she might witness the savage sport and horrid spectacle ; the head was afterwards placed above that of Captain Keugh, over the door of the court house.

With this last bloody scene at Wexford the reign of terrorism may properly be said to have closed. On the 28th of June General Lake was ordered from Wexford, and a new system of mercy and conciliation was seriously entered upon. General Hunter, upon whom the command at Wexford fell on the departure of General Lake, found that the only severity he had to exercise was upon the gentry and yeomanry, whose sanguinary and vindictive exertions, it became necessary to check, lest the people should be goaded into a relapse. He soon gained the affections and gratitude of the people, who in consequence of that change of measures flocked in shoals to surrender their arms, take out protections, and return to their homes in peace.

The province of Ulster, where insurrection had been most of all dreaded, and where from the spirit of the inhabitants it would, if extensive, have been the most formidable, had hitherto remained undisturbed. On the 7th of June, a meeting of magistrates having been appointed in the town of Antrim for the prevention of rebellion, the insurgents, with design of seizing their persons, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major General Nugent, who commanded in that district having received intelligence of the intended rising, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived after the rebels had taken possession of the town. They then attacked the insurgents in the town, but their van guard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty three men killed and wounded, of which three were officers, Colonel Durkin who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a six pounder which they had brought with them, and two curricule guns which they had taken from the king's army. They were pursued towards Slane's castle and Randal's town with considerable slaughter; on this day Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded.* A small body made an unsuccessful assault on the town of Larne, and some feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. The main body of these northern insurgents retired to Donegar Hill, where, disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, they agreed to surrender their arms, and almost all of them dispersed.

On the 8th of June another body of insurgents in the county of Down near Saintfield, under the command of a Dr. Jackson, set fire to the house of a man named Mackee, an informer

* He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the rebels were in possession of it. He shot one who had seized the bridle of his horse, after which he was dragged from his saddle, and so wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

against the United Irishmen. They placed themselves the next day in ambuscade, and nearly surrounded a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton, consisting of York fencibles and yeomen cavalry, of whom they killed about sixty: the infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confusion, rallying with a coolness not very common in this war, dislodged and dispersed the rebels, and after a stay of two hours on the field of battle, retreated to Belfast.

Little discouraged by this defeat, in which their loss was very small, the rebels reassembled, and took post at Ballynahinch on the Windmill hill, and at the house and in the demesne of Lord Moira. On the 12th General Nugent marching from Belfast, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which before the action, they wantonly set on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery with little or no execution, at length the Monaghan regiment of militia, posted with two field pieces at Lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with such determined fury by the pikemen of the insurgents, that it fell back in confusion on the Hillsborough cavalry; they likewise fell back in disorder. The want of discipline in the insurgents lost what their valour had gained. The disordered troops found means to rally, while the Argyleshire fencibles, entering the demesne, were making their attack on another side. The insurgents, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a stand at the top, at a kind of fortification, defended the post for some time with great courage, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss exceeded a hundred; that of the royal army not above half that number. The main body of these insurgents retired to the mountains of Slyeeve Croob, where they soon surrendered or separated, returning to their several homes; and thus terminated this short and partial, but active insurrection in the north, in the course of which some slighter actions had taken place, particularly at Portaferry, where they were repulsed by the yeomanry; they also set fire to a revenue cruizer in which forty men perished. On the subsiding of this local insurgency in the north eastern quarter of the island, another insurgency of less force commenced in the opposite south western quarter, in the county of Cork. The principal action, and the only one, which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six pounders, under the command of their Lieutenant Colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Clognakelty to

Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from an height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; and at that critical moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion arrived on the spot, and by a brisk fire helped to put the assailants to flight; their loss amounted to between fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a serjeant and one private.

Fortunately for the country, the new system of moderation gained ground through the most disturbed parts of the country, and carried with it the happiest effects. General Hunter, at Wexford, Brigadier General Grose, stationed under him at Enniscorthy, and General Gascoyne, quartered at Ross with the Coldstream regiment of Guards, exhibited the blessed effects of the reverse of that system of coercive severity, which had been productive of so much evil to that unfortunate country.

The main body of the Wexford insurgents, supposed to be fifteen thousand in number, having lost most of those leaders who were men of education and property, directed its march, under Father John Murphy, north-westward to Scollogh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of Mount Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow, with intention to penetrate into Kilkenny, in hopes of raising the colliers about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in the year 1793: upon entering the gap, they dispersed some troops, who opposed their progress, and burned the little town of Killedmond. They also defeated a small body of the 4th dragoon guards, and of the Wexford militia, who disturbed their passage over the river Barrow; some few were killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners, of whom, seven condemned as Orange-men, were shot. This horrible function, it is reported, their fellow soldiers were forced to execute. Major General Sir Charles Asgill, who had marched with a force of about a thousand men, to seize the post of New-bridge, arrived too late to stop the progress of the rebel army, which by a rapid movement had pre-occupied that post, where they passed the night.

The general was likewise on the following day too late at Castlecomer for the protection of the town. On the next morning the rebel troops descended from the heights upon Castlecomer, and defeated a body of about two hundred and fifty men, who opposed them at Coolbawn, a mile and a half from that town, of whom they killed about fifty. The town was set on fire, and of this conflagration each party accuses the other.*

* Notwithstanding the constant charges of this contest having become a religious war, it must be allowed that to the last, the innate and cordial enemy

After the town had been plundered, the rebels abandoned it, and retired to the high grounds, where they remained for one night in consultation and advice, which ended in a general resolution to retreat back through the pass of Scollogh-gap, into the county of Wexford. According to this determination, they moved from the ridge in the morning of the 25th of June, and directing their march towards Newbridge, took post at a place called Kilcomny, on a rising ground. Here they were assailed on three sides at once on the following morning, by a force of nearly twelve hundred men, under General Sir Charles Asgill, and that of Major Matthews, of about five hundred, from Maryborough. After an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing to be surrounded, fled towards the gap with their usual celerity, leaving all their plunder and artillery behind them. Their artillery consisted of ten light pieces, and among the articles of plunder were seven hundred horses. They forced their way back through the gap, to the mountains of Wicklow.

The other body of Wexford insurgents, which had proceeded, after the attack upon Gorey, into the county of Wicklow, were there joined by the forces under Mr. Garret Byrne, on the 25th of June, near Hacketstown, before which they appeared about seven o'clock in the morning. The military were drawn up ready to receive them; but having been forced to give way, they retired into the barrack and a malt-house adjoining, from which their fire did great execution. The insurgents deeming it impracticable to effect their design, without cannon, of which they had not a single piece, retreated from the place, after an action of nine hours, in which they lost great numbers, carrying off their wounded, and driving before them all the cattle from about the town; they encamped that night at Blessington. During the engagement, it is said, that a considerable force of our cavalry and infantry stood on a hill at a small distance, in view of the scene of action, but did not venture to join in the battle.

Disappointed by the repulse at Hackestown, the remaining Wexford insurgents, in conjunction with their Wicklow associates, directed their march towards Carnew, which they were

to the rebels, was the *Orangeman*, and not the Protestant. Even Sir Richard Musgrave affords evidence of this as late as the day, on which the rebels evacuated Wexford, from a certificate, which he says was given on that day by Father Broe.

"I hereby certify, that A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty, and proved himself a Roman Catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an *Orangeman*, nor took the *Orange oath*.

"F. JOHN BROE."

"Dated Wexford, June 21, 1798."

resolved, if possible, to carry; but General Needham having been informed of their approach, detached a strong body of infantry, and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey, to intercept them. The cavalry alone, however, as the infantry were recalled, came up with the insurgents on the road to Carnew. These feigning a retreat, having timely notice of their approach, suffered the cavalry to pass, until they brought them into an ambuscade, where their gunsmen were placed on both sides of the way behind the ditches, to receive them. At the first discharge they were utterly confounded, and attempted to retreat in great haste toward Carnew. But the insurgents rightly conjecturing, that, when foiled, they would attempt getting off in that direction, had blocked up the road with cars, and other incumbrances; they were for some time exposed to the fire of the insurgents, and lost about eighty of their number, among whom were two officers, the Marquis de Giffard, a young Norman emigrant of the Ancient British, and Adjutant Parsons, of the Ballaghkeen cavalry; the rest effected their retreat to Arklow. The insurgents lost not a single man in this action; but they were foiled in their design upon Carnew, the garrison of which, being alarmed by the fugitive cavalry, had just time to secure themselves in a malt-house, before the approach of the insurgents, who, after an ineffectual attack, marched off to Killcavan hill.

On the 2d of July, as the insurgents began to move towards Kilelah, they were pursued by a body of yeoman cavalry and infantry, before whom they retired to an eminence, called Ballyrakeen-kill. Here they took post; but as the yeomen moved up the hill, the insurgents poured upon them with such impetuosity, that they were in an instant utterly discomfited, with the loss of seventy privates and two officers; all the cavalry saved themselves by flight.

It had been lamented by many, that the Marquis Cornwallis, a viceroy of military talent, of benevolence, and humanity, and above all, of political firmness to resist and keep down the fatal influence of those, who had extorted the bloody system from his predecessor, should not have been sent sooner to that distracted kingdom. But the affected zeal for the constitution, the artful misrepresentation of facts, and the undaunted fierceness of those terrorists, had too long usurped the power of the viceroy, and abused the confidence of the British cabinet. It was, however, some atonement to poor suffering Ireland, that an appointment was at last made of a nobleman, supereminently fitted to heal her wounds, by a system of measures diametrically contrary to those which had inflicted and inflamed them. Within very few days after his lordship's arrival in Dublin, a

proclamation* was issued, authorizing his majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of re-

* The following is the form of it. It was published in the Dublin Gazette only on the 3d of July: but as it bears date the 29th day of June, 1798, it was probably communicated to General Lake before publication, as that general left Wexford on the 28th.

" A PROCLAMATION.

" WHEREAS, it is in the power of his majesty's generals, and of the forces under their command, entirely to destroy all those who have risen in rebellion, against their sovereign and his laws: yet it is nevertheless the wish of government, that those persons who, by traitorous machinations, have been seduced, or by acts of intimidation, have been forced from their allegiance, should be received into his majesty's peace and pardon,

commanding in the county of specially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all persons, who may be now assembled, in any part of the said county against his majesty's peace, to surrender themselves and their arms, and to desert the leaders who have seduced them; and for the acceptance of such surrender and submission, the space of fourteen days from the date hereof, is allowed; and the towns of are hereby specified, at each of which places one of his majesty's officers, and a justice of the peace, will attend; and upon entering their names, acknowledging their guilt, and promising good behaviour for the future, and taking the oath of allegiance, and at the same time abjuring all other engagements contrary thereto, they will receive a certificate, which will entitle them to protection so long as they demean themselves as becomes good subjects.

" And, in order to render such acts of submission easy and secure, it is the general's pleasure that persons who are now with any portion of the rebels in arms, and willing to surrender themselves, do send to him, or to any number from each body of rebels not exceeding ten, with whom the general, or will settle the manner in which they may repair to the above towns, so that no alarm may be excited, and no injury to their persons be offered.

" June 29, 1798."

" CERTIFICATE OF PROTECTION.

" THIS is to certify, that the bearer hereof, of the parish of county of by occupation has surrendered himself, confessed his being engaged in the present rebellion, and has given up all his arms, and discovered of those which he knew to be concealed, has taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, and has abjured all other oaths and engagements, in any wise whatsoever contrary thereto; and has bound himself to behave for the future as a peaceable and loyal subject; in consequence whereof, this certificate is given to the said in order that his person or his property may not in any wise be molested; and all his majesty's officers, magistrates, and other his majesty's loving subjects, are hereby enjoined to pay due attention thereto, in pursuance of the proclamation issued General dated the day of 1798: and this certificate to be in full force as long as the said continues to demean himself as a peaceable and loyal subject

" Dated at the day of 1798."

" OATH TO BE TAKEN.

" I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, his heirs, and successors; and I do solemnly renounce and abjure all oaths and engagements of every kind whatsoever, which are in any degree contrary thereto.

So HELP ME GOD."

bellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. How necessary at that time such a step was, could be a question of no difficulty to those, who viewing dispassionately the state of affairs, considered what numbers had been seduced into the conspiracy by artifice, and forced into rebellion by unfortunate circumstances. To give the full sanction of law to that necessary measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the House of Commons, on the 17th of July, signifying his majesty's pleasure to that effect; and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed in favour of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders; who had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation.

The Wexford insurgents had fixed their station near the White Heaps, at the foot of Croghan Mountain: from whence they moved, during the night of the 4th of July, toward Wicklow Gap; but on the morning of the 5th, the army under Sir James Duff from Carnew, under cover of a very thick fog, surrounded them in four powerful divisions, before they could perceive the approach of any enemy: finding themselves unable to withstand a battle, they broke through the pursuing cavalry, of whom they slew about eighty, and moved with great celerity in the direction of Carnew. Upon their arrival at a place called Cranford, by others Ballygullen, they resolved to make resistance and await the approach of the troops however numerous they might be, although their own force were then very considerably reduced. They resolutely maintained the contest for an hour and a half with the utmost intrepidity; having repulsed the cavalry, and driven the artillery men three times from their cannon, all performed by the gunsmen; for the pikemen, as on former occasions, never came into action: but fresh reinforcements of the army pouring in on all sides, they were obliged to give way, quitting the field of battle with little loss to themselves, and notwithstanding all their fatigue, retreating, with their usual agility and swiftness in different directions. They agreed among themselves to assemble again at Carrigrew, where upon considering the reduced state of their forces and the advantages gained by the army, they thought it advisable to disperse, and thus put an end to the warfare in the county of Wexford.

The cessation of hostilities unfortunately did not close the miseries of that devoted district: a most rancorous, bloody and ferocious spirit of revenge and hatred seized upon many of the gentlemen of that county, and was carried into effect with outrageous barbarity. Their former claims to respectability in life for a length of time gave credit to their falsehood, procured

countenance to their fanaticism, and secured them the means of executing injustice. * General Lake, previous to his departure from Wexford, appointed a committee to superintend prosecutions, and to grant passes to leave the country, consisting of the principal gentlemen then resident there. The appropriate duty of this body was to enquire specially into the cases of such prisoners as they should hand over to be tried by court-martial, to procure the evidence for prosecution, and to commit different persons to gaol. It was not, however, deemed necessary to send a committal to the gaoler, as the word of any of them was considered sufficient for the detention of any of those given in custody; and they were also to act as a kind of council to General Hunter, whose benevolent disposition they thwarted on several occasions. This was in fact so well known, that many, upon being put into confinement, were induced, by their apprehensions, to petition for transportation, rather than abide a trial under their direction. The tyrannical, unjust, and inhuman disposition of this body is strongly exemplified in their unwarrantable treatment of many besides that gentleman, which he has detailed in his preliminary discourse.†

Different courts-martial were instituted in Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey, and Newton-Barry; several persons were condemned and executed, and others sentenced to transportation. Among those who were condemned to be executed was the Rev. John Redmond, a Catholic priest, who, it seems, during the insurrection, had done all in his power to save the house of Lord Mountnorris from being plundered, which he, in some degree, effected,

* Hay's History of the Insurrection of Wexford, p. 266.

† The quotation I have made from this author, as an eye-witness and a most aggrieved sufferer under this persecuting spirit of the Wexford Orangemen, seems to baffle all possibility of refutation. The unparalleled and almost incredible persecutions, which Mr. Hay details of his own sufferings from this inquisitorial court in the introduction to his history, freezes the blood of the reader: at the same time it rouses that indignation against the fomenters and supporters of it, that it becomes more candid to name such as the author has given to the public, than to permit the foul imputation to light upon the gentry of the county at large: " (*Introd. xxviii.*) Six magistrates of the county afterwards formed themselves into an inquisitorial court, consisting of the Right Honorable George Ogle, James Boyd, Richard Newton King, Edward Percival, Ebenezer Jacob, M. D. and John Henry Lister, Esquires. They assembled at the house of James Boyd, and summoned hundreds before them, whom they swore to give such information as they could concerning the rebellion. About fifty persons have informed me, that they were principally questioned concerning me; so that I have strong reason to believe, that no means were left untried to criminate me. My conduct has certainly undergone stricter investigation than that of any other person in Ireland, and such, as I believe, that of the most unexceptionable of my persecutors would not pass through unblemished; while mine is irreproachable in the utmost degree, having passed with unimpeached honour the ordeal of the Wexford inquisition. We read of nothing that has gone such lengths in foreign countries. Even the inquisitors are, by duty and oath, to seek out all evidence as well for, as against their prisoners."

but not at all to the extent of his wishes. Lord Mountnorris, whose conduct towards the Catholics became from henceforth wholly altered (he had formerly favoured them), sent for Mr. Redmond, upon finding that he was present at the plundering of his house, desiring that he would come to him directly. The reverend gentleman, conscious of his own integrity, and apprehensive of no danger, being involved in no guilt, obeyed the summons without hesitation; but his instantaneous hasty trial, condemnation, and execution, were the reward of his humane and generous exertions. His body, after death, underwent the most indecent mutilations.*

* I find in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 19th of October 1799, the following avowal about the Rev. John Redmond: "All I can say of the Rev. John Redmond is, that when Lord Mountnorris was preparing to prosecute him, his groom and another of his servants (Protestants as I am informed) told his lordship, that Redmond's conduct was innocent and praiseworthy, that he came unto the rebels, when they were plundering his lordship's house, and did all in his power to restrain and prevent them. But now to look for any favourable testimony from that quarter would be vain, where no priest dares appear or Catholic raise his head or his voice."

But the Rev. Mr. Gordon puts the case of that unfortunate man in its true light: " (*History of the Irish Rebellion*, 2d edit. p. 225.) Of the rebellious conduct of Redmond, coadjutor of Father Francis Kavenagh, in the parish of Clough, of which I was twenty-three years curate, I can find no other proof than the sentence of the court-martial, which consigned him to death. He was accused by the Earl of Mountnorris, of having appeared as chief among a party of rebels, who committed some depredations at his lordship's house; while he alleged, that his object in appearing on the occasion, was to endeavour to prevent the plundering of the house, in which he partly succeeded. Coming into Gorey on a message from the earl, seemingly unapprehensive of danger, and unconscious of guilt, he was treated as if manifestly guilty before trial, knocked down in the street, and rudely dragged by some yeomen. I mean not to arraign the justice of the noble lord, his prosecutor, nor the members of the court-martial. The former, who had rendered himself in no small degree responsible for the loyalty of the Wexfordian Romanists, had doubtless good reasons for his conduct; and the latter could have no personal animosity against the accused, nor other unfavourable bias than what naturally arose from the turbid state of affairs, when accusation, especially against a Romanist priest, was considered as a strong presumption of guilt. But his Protestant neighbours, who had not been able to escape from the rebels, assured me, that while the latter were in possession of the country, he was constantly hiding in Protestant houses from the rebels, and that many Romanists expressed great resentment against him as a traitor to their cause. That he expected not the rebellion to be successful, appears, from this, that when the wife of Nathaniel Stedman (one of my Protestant parishioners) applied to him to baptize her child, he told her, that he acceded to her request merely lest the child should die unbaptized, in the necessary absence of her minister, on condition that she should promise to make the proper apology for him to me on my return to the parish.

"As I understand that the noble earl has not considered my relation of this affair as complete or satisfactory, I here add a few more circumstances. Father Kavenagh, to whom Redmond was coadjutor, had lived many years in habits of the greatest apparent intimacy with the earl, mostly residing at his lordship's house, and sometimes entertaining him and Lady Mountnorris and family at his own. Redmond, being one of the company on these occasions, thought himself extremely honoured, and in some degree idolized the

A party of insurgents in the county of Kildare, under the command of Mr. William Aylmer, still held out in arms; and thither the remaining body of the Wexford men, commanded by Mr. Fitzgerald, accompanied by Mr. Garret Byrne, and some Wicklow men, directed their course to form a junction, which they accordingly effected, but were stopped in their progress at Clonard by Lieutenant Tyrrel, a yeoman officer, who had occupied a fortified house in the town, until reinforcements from Kinnegad and Mullingar forced them to retreat.

After this repulse the few remaining Wexford men separated from their Wicklow associates, whom they deemed less warlike than themselves, and made different incursions into the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth and Dublin, eluding, as well as they could, the pursuit of the army, with different parties of which they had several skirmishes. They were finally routed and intercepted by Captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, at the head of a strong party of horse and foot, at Ballyboghill, near Swords, and never more collected.

Some Wexford insurgents, however, remained with Mr. Fitzgerald, along with Mr. Aylmer, who, as outstanding chiefs, negotiated with General Dundas, to whom they surrendered on the 12th of July, on condition, that all the other leaders, who had adventured with them, should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominions. The same terms were afterwards secured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne, who was sent into confinement in the castle of Dublin, together with Messrs. Fitzgerald and Aylmer, by which they fared much better than those, who laid down their arms in Wexford depending on the faithful fulfilment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingsborough.

The plan of proposing terms for saving the lives of Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. Byrne was proposed through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament. That gentleman with the sheriff went

"earl, who was regarded by the Catholics as their most zealous friend. Transported with zeal for his noble patron, when he heard that a mob had gone to his lordship's house in quest of liquors, he ran to prevail on them to spare all except the small beer. Father Kaveagh told me, that on the suppression of the rebels, the earl called at his house, in a friendly manner, requesting that Redmond should go to him to Gorey for a protection. What protection he received has been already related. No act could be more popular among Protestants, at that time, than the hanging of a priest; yet many Protestants would have come to bear witness in his favour, if they had been allowed time, and an assurance of personal safety. The popularity, however, of his lordship with the common people of the Catholics is so indelibly impressed, that they cannot believe to this day, that he had any concern in this business; but endeavoured with all his power to save the priest. I knew Redmond many years, and always thought him a remarkably timid and innocent man."

to the prison, in which Mr. A. O'Connor was confined, on the 24th of July with a paper,* signed by seventy state prisoners, purposing to give such information as was in their power, of arms, ammunition, their schemes of warfare, their internal regulations and foreign negotiations of the United Irishmen, provided the lives of Messrs. Bond and Byrne should be spared. In consequence of this agreement, some of the rebel chiefs, who were still in arms, among whom was Mr. Aylmer of Kildare, surrendered themselves.† Several principals of the

* The following was the agreement signed by seventy-three on the 29th of July, 1798. "That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction, that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if on their so doing they are to be freed from protection, and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope, that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it."

Signed by seventy-three persons.

29th of July, 1798.

† In a pamphlet, styled A Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the 4th, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made, one of which is, that the information given by these prisoners to government, was garbled to serve the purposes of the ministry, and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one had been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honour and integrity of his lordship and others for a disproof of these accusations, which may be a vindication to persons acquainted with his lordship's character. The pamphlet was said to have been suppressed by government, at least was not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated. The author expressly clears the lord lieutenant of all blame in these transactions. The honour of the Marquis Cornwallis remains unimpeached even by the boldest of all the chiefs of the conspiracy.

Whether the negotiation between government and the principal conspirators had any connection with, or influence on the bill of amnesty, ministers alone can answer, and the secrets of administration are not lightly to be divulged. The affirmative seems to be insinuated in the above mentioned pamphlet, and an opinion of that nature to have been, at the time of the bargain, propagated among people connected with the insurgents, who spoke of some agreement as of a treaty of peace. This letter of Mr. O'Connor's is very strong: and it is to be hoped, that the real reasons for not having answered it were prudential, viz. not to give consequence and notoriety to the contents of it. In it he asserts, that Lord Castlereagh in their first conference assured him, that Lord Cornwallis's honour was pledged to them for the religious performance of the agreement; and that Lord Clare made use of these remarkable expressions: (p. 9) "It comes to this, either you must trust the

Union, particularly Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath in their examinations before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, in whose reports published by authority of government is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Yet certain it is, that whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (15 in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved or assumed by ministers to retain them in custody at least during the continuance of the war with France. Oliver Bond died in the mean time in prison of an apoplexy.

During the whole of this rebellion the internal peace of the metropolis was preserved by the vigilance of the large military force constantly kept up within it, which chiefly consisted of yeomanry. The grand and royal canals, which were 50 feet broad and 12 feet deep, were a security against a surprise: and the several bridges were strongly pallisadoed, and guarded both by night and by day. The trials and executions of some of the principal leaders in the rebellion tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further attempts of individuals in that desperate cause. Among others, a rebel officer, a Protestant, named Bacon, a reputable taylor, having been apprehended disguised in female apparel, was executed on the 2d of June, near Carlisle bridge. On the 14th was executed, on the same scaffolding, Lieutenant Esmond, whose case has been already related. On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and soon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne,* delegate from the

"government, or the government must trust you: a government that could violate engagements thus solemnly made, neither could stand nor deserved to stand." He alleges five substantial and most severe deviations on the part of government from the terms of the original agreement, justified upon the allegation of a change of circumstances after it had been first acceded to.

* Of the execution of Mr. Byrne, Mr. O'Connor thus speaks in his letter to Lord Castlereagh. "On the 24th of July last, Mr. Dobbs and the sheriff entered my prison with a written paper, signed by seventy state prisoners, purporting to give such information as was in their power of arms, ammunition, and schemes of warfare, (of which it is now manifest they knew little or nothing) and to consent to leave Ireland, provided the lives of Bond and Byrne (both under sentence of death) should be spared." I refused to sign it, not only from a detestation of entering into any conditions with those, who composed the councils of Lord Cornwallis's administration, but because in the massacre of my unarmed countrymen still raging, I did not think that any object, which was not general, could warrant me, in whom such confidence was placed by so many millions of my countrymen, to enter into any such compact, and because the possibility of its being attributed to a desire to save my own life, in the peculiar situation I stood in, was in my mind an insuperable objection, if there had been no other. Besides, it seemed to me,

county committee of Wicklow, and that of Oliver Bond, on the 23d. The two former were executed, but the third was reprieved, as has been mentioned.

Assassinations would probably have ceased soon after the granting of protections, had not some of the more desperate rebels, reinforced by deserters from some regiments of Irish militia, remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughram, near Enniscorthy. These desperate banditti so terrified the whole vicinity of their lurking places, that those peaceable loyalists, who had remained in the country even in the heat of the rebellion, now found themselves necessitated to take refuge in towns. But, after a little time, the woods of Killaughram, scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves babes of the woods, and tranquillity was restored to that part of the country.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and haunts much more difficult of access, continued under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree; issuing suddenly from their fastnesses to perpetrate burnings and massacres, and retiring before troops could arrive to intercept them.

As these massacres were always intended to fall upon Orangemen, and they were all Protestants, it was represented, that they sprang entirely from a spirit of religious hatred, and as the real perpetrators could not be brought to justice, avowed retaliation was resorted to. Where any Protestants were murdered by these banditti or their confederates, a greater number of Catholics were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen. Thus at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Catholics were slain in revenge; at Aughrim twenty-seven of that communion were killed in consequence of murders committed on Protestants. Harassed incessantly by the pursuits of yeomen and soldiery, the numbers of the banditti gradually diminished: Hacket was killed near Arklow; Holt surrendered for transportation to the Earl of Powerscourt; and these bands of robbers at length totally disappeared.

“ that to save the lives of Bond and Byrne, enough had signed their self-sacrifice to induce the ministers, already sated with blood, (as you and Lord Clare appeared to be when we met) to acquiesce; but in this I was deceived, a council sat on the fate of Byrne; he was executed. In this barter of blood, although you had lessened your quantum by half, yet you raised your demands for the price of the other, and proposed to those who had signed the paper, that they should deliver up names.”

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the country, the parliament ceased not to sit from time to time as the exigencies of circumstances required. On the 17th of July, Lord Castle-reagh presented to the House of Commons the following message from his excellency.

"CORNWALLIS.

" I HAVE the king's commands to acquaint the House of Commons, that his majesty notwithstanding his just abhorrence of the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, which has broken out in this kingdom, yet being ever disposed to exert as far as possible his royal prerogative of mercy, and to receive again under his royal protection, those who by the arts of wicked and designing men have been seduced from their allegiance, has signified his gracious intention of granting his general and free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions as may be compatible with the public safety; for carrying which benevolent purpose into execution, his majesty has signified his gracious intention of sanctioning, in the usual form, by his royal signature, a bill for that purpose, previous to its being submitted for the concurrence of parliament.

" His majesty has also directed me to lay before you several important papers, which may assist you in unfolding the nature and extent of the conspiracy, which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting, that whilst your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious intentions of his majesty, you will feel it your indispensable duty to consider of and adopt such measures of salutary precaution, as may tend to secure the state hereafter, against the machinations of the disaffected.

" In your deliberations, the sufferings of his majesty's loyal subjects will naturally receive your attention, and recommend to you the framing of effectual measures for ascertaining their losses, and bringing their claims under the consideration of parliament.

" The numerous and continued advantages of his majesty's forces over the rebels, afford me just ground to believe, that as their hopes of success must have failed, so the obstinacy of their resistance will speedily cease. The generals under my command have received, and shall continue to receive, the most positive orders to proceed against them with unceasing activity and vigour; and I shall not suffer their exertions to relax, so long as any body of them whatever shall remain in arms against his majesty's peace."

This message was ordered to be entered on the journals, and to be referred to a secret committee, which was to consist of thir-

teen members, inclusive of the speaker and the law officers of the crown in that house, to be chosen on the morrow by ballot in the usual form ; and that the papers mentioned in the message, and which his lordship presented to the house sealed up in a box, be referred to the committee.

On the next day (18th of July) after the ballot for the committee, Lord Castlereagh, according to the order of the day for taking into consideration his excellency's message, moved, that an address be presented to the lord lieutenant, requesting his excellency would lay before his majesty the sincere acknowledgments of his faithful commons for the gracious communication made to that house ; the motion was seconded by the chancellor of the exchequer, and passed unanimously without debate, though Lord Castlereagh ushered it in with a very long speech upon the general topic of the rebellion ; extolling the liberality of his majesty in granting an amnesty and recommending a provision for the indemnification of the suffering loyalists. The attorney general on the 27th of the month brought forward a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, deceased : for which purpose several witnesses were examined at the bar. Similar proceedings were also had in the House of Lords. This measure was considered by some persons rather as an act of imprudent severity, or sort of supplementary vengeance upon the unoffending widow and orphan, rather as the base posthumous issue of the late, than the genuine offspring of the present administration. To compensate, however, for this solitary instance of severity, a bill of general amnesty was passed in the course of the session, with the exception only of Mr. Napper Tandy, and about thirty others, chiefly fugitives in France. A bill was also passed for granting compensation to such of his majesty's loyal subjects as had sustained losses in their property, in consequence of the late rebellion, and commissioners were named for carrying the same into effect.

The system of moderation and mercy pursued by Lord Cornwallis appeared peculiarly seasonable at this crisis, and was apparently attended with the happiest effects. The system of military law and military execution was relaxed throughout most parts of the kingdom where the flames of rebellion appeared to be extinguished. In one instance, indeed, his lordship gave some offence to the more violent partisans of the ancient regime.

In the county of Wexford the introduction of the system of conciliation and mildness met with more resistance than in any part of the kingdom, and in none was it so supereminently requisite. *General Hunter was indefatigable in his exertions to

appease the minds of the people, and to restore confidence and tranquillity to that distracted country. In this he was very materially assisted by the address and exertions of Captain Fitzgerald, who by the special appointment of the British government, was attached as a proper person to attend the general as brigade major on the service in Ireland; and to this station, besides his acknowledged military talents, a recent display of courage, independent of his knowledge of the country, certainly recommended him. He was even invested with the extraordinary privilege of recommending such as he thought deserving of the protection and mercy of government.

Some principal gentlemen of the county, and others besides, attempted to interpose their authority to supersede the tenor of the general pardon held out by proclamation, pursuing the same line of arbitrary conduct, which they had practised previous to the insurrection. They even proceeded to the length of presuming to tear some of the protections, which the country people had obtained; but this coming to the general's knowledge, he soon quieted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been rash enough to levy arbitrary contributions for the losses they had sustained during the insurrection, but were glad upon discovery, and refunding what they had received, to escape punishment. A curate was induced to wait on the general with an account of the intended massacre of the Protestants, which he detailed with the appearance of the utmost alarm, and was patiently heard out by the general: who then addressed him with this marked appellation and strong language:—" *Mr. Massacre*, if you do not prove to me " the circumstances you have related, I shall get you punished " in the most exemplary manner, for raising false alarms, which " have already proved so destructive to this unfortunate coun- " try." The curate's alarm instantly changed its direction and became personal; and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this representation, his piteous supplication, and apparent contrition, procured him forgiveness.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their supplementaries continued the system of conflagration and shooting such of the peasantry as they met: and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented of course, the humane and benevolent intentions of the present government from having their due effect. The melancholy consequence of such a system of terror, persecution, and alarm, had very nearly brought on the extermination of an extensive and populous tract of the county of

Wexford, called the Macomores; the horrid perpetration of the plan was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, under the direction and orders of General Hunter. Incessant applications and remonstrances had been made, by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity, to government, complaining that this range of country was infested with constant meetings of rebels, who committed every species of outrage, and these reports were confirmed by affidavits; they were credited by government, to whom they were handed in, under the specious, imposing, and solemn appearances of facts, by a magistracy presumed to be deliberate, grave, and respectable; the viceroy was rendered justly indignant at these reiterated complaints of the abuse of his clemency; and orders were sent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract, to form a line along its extent on the western border, and at both ends, north and south, on the land side, so as to leave no resource to the wretched inhabitants, who were to be slaughtered by the soldiery, or to be driven into the sea, as it is bounded by the Channel on the eastward. Even women and children were to be included in this horrid plan of terrific example. The execution of this severe and exemplary measure was entrusted, to the discretion of General Hunter, who, through the honest exertions and bold scrutiny of Major Fitzgerald, fortunately discovered, in time, the inhuman tendency of the misrepresentation, that had produced those terrific orders. The devoted victims found an opportunity to implore protection from the incursions of the black mob (they thus denominated the supplementaries to the different corps of yeomanry), who wreaked their vengeance even upon those who had received protection from General Needham at Gorey; as different parties of the soldiery and yeomanry waited their return in ambush, and slaughtered every one they could overtake.

This prevented many from coming in for protections. Afterwards these sanguinary banditti made incursions into the country, fired into the houses, thus killing and wounding many unoffending peasants. Several houses after being plundered, were burned, and the booty was brought into Gorey. By the frequency of these horrible excesses and depredations, such houses as remained unburned were of course crowded with several families; and this multiplied the number of victims at each succeeding incursion. At last most of the inhabitants from necessity took refuge on the hills, and armed themselves with every offensive weapon they could procure. This harassed peasantry received protection from the General against the military depredators and murderers, and no subjects could be more loyal and subordinate.

The false alarmists were not depressed or intimidated at these discomfitures : for although General Hunter reported the country to be in a perfect state of tranquillity, they again returned to the charge, and renewed their misrepresentations. Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeen cavalry, and a justice of the peace for the county, sent several informations to government of the alarming state of the country ; and the commanding officer at Gorey was so far persuaded of the intention of a general rising, that he quitted the town, and encamped on the hill above it. These representations, made under the semblance of loyalty, and by a person bearing the appearance and authority of a gentleman, had not, however, the wished-for weight with the government. General Hunter was ordered to enquire into the information of Mr. Hawtrey White, and Major Fitzgerald was again sent out, and the result of his discriminating enquiry was, that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtrey White to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither, and put under arrest : and on his still persisting in his false representations, he was conducted to the island, where he asserted the rebels were encamped, and, lo ! no island appeared above the water. Mr. Hawtrey White was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, interfered in the most earnest manner, to prevent this investigation, representing that Mr. White's great age might have subjected him to the imposition of fabricated information ; and the firmness of the general relaxed at the instance of so many respectable persons !! It is to be regretted that Ireland should have suffered so much by the tales of adventurers in these infernal practices.

A court-martial, of which Lord Ancram was president, was instituted at Wexford for the trial of persons accused of treason ; and, contrary to the expectation and wishes of the committee for procuring evidence, many were acquitted. Lord Ancram, however, soon left the town, to the regret of the people ; but his lieutenant-colonel, Sir James Fowles, succeeded him as president of the court-martial, in which situation he acquitted himself with honour and integrity, which inspired so much confidence throughout the country, as to induce many who were conscious of their integrity, to submit to trial, which they would not otherwise have dared to do, from a well-founded opinion of the rancour of their accusers, who in too many instances elsewhere prevailed by the grossest perjuries against truth and justice. One notorious instance will, it is hoped, supersede the pain-

- ful necessity of supporting the assertion by a longer enumeration.*

Mr. Walter Devereux, having obtained protections from several officers, had gone to Cork to embark for Portugal: he was there taken up, tried, condemned, and executed. Mr. Gibson, a yeoman and wealthy Protestant shopkeeper, and Mr. William Kearney, an extensive brewer, were summoned and attended at his trial, and proved that he was in Wexford, and even in gaol, at the very time some soldiers of the Wexford militia were shot thirty miles from that town; and the principal charge against him was, that he gave orders and was present at their execution, which some men of that regiment were hardened enough to swear!!! Mr. Hay the historian saw him in Wexford on the alleged day. He was also accused of aiding and abetting the abomination at Scullabogue, and this charge was similarly supported by the testimony of some soldiers wives! and yet it is a notable fact, that he was all that day engaged at the battle of Ross, where he displayed the most heroical bravery and courage, qualities inconsistent with the odious crime it was falsely sworn he had perpetrated!!! but what puts the falsehood of the facts alleged against him beyond all question is, that after his execution another Mr. Devereux was taken up on the discriminating sagacity of the same witnesses, who prosecuted the former to death; but who now (as they said) had discovered the right Devereux. The trial of the latter has been published, and is recommended to the perusal of such as wish for further proof of

* Hay's Hist. 282....In quoting the authority of Mr. Hay, it has been to me, as I presume, it has been to others, a great satisfaction to read the following testimony of his History from Major Fitzgerald, who had such ample means of knowing the truth, and exerted them with so much honour and credit to himself, to his employers, and to his country:

"Dublin, 14 December, 1802.

"SIR,

"I RETURN, with my thanks for your polite attention, the manuscripts you were so kind as to leave for my perusal. Am. exceedingly glad to find, through the whole of your compilation, so strict an observance of facts, which chiefly came under my cognizance as brigade-major. It is with pleasure I observe also, your adherence to truth and impartiality, free from the rancorous spirit of party-fabrication, which is the true criterion that exalts the historian above the class of party scribblers, who dissipate as rapidly as unerring truth unveils itself, strongly exemplified in the past and present times. I give you much credit in not retorting as you might for your unremitted sufferings, by exposing the crimes of some respectable persons: for, indeed, if they are not very forgetful and very insensible, the compunctions of their consciences must be sufficiently tormenting. There is little doubt of your labours meeting their due reward from an unprejudiced public, which is the wish of

"Your obedient humble servant,

"B. E. FITZGERALD."

"To Edward Hay, Esq."

the miserable and lamentable condition of existing in the county of Wexford during that unfortunate insurrection.

It was happy for Great Britain and Ireland at this alarming crisis, that the French government was in the hands of feeble politicians, who, though well acquainted with the state of Ireland, had unaccountably neglected to embrace the opportunity, and pursue the plan which had been laid out for them by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the malecontents in Ireland; this was, to risk some frigates and light vessels with a proper supply of officers, arms and ammunition, with some few troops to keep the insurgents in spirits; Ireland might then have been lost for ever, and ultimately Great Britain itself, since, in the present state of Europe, both islands must stand or fall together. They are naturally united, and the interests of neither will bear a separation. And hence the expediency or rather necessity of an incorporate union. With that lazy after-thought that marks the folly of a bad statesman, the French in the latter end of August, detached a small force to the North of Ireland, under the command of General Humbert who on the 22d of August landed at Killala.

The French entered the bay under English colours, and the feint succeeded so well, *that two sons of the bishop of Killala, threw themselves into a fishing boat, with the port surveyor, Mr. James Rutledge, and were presently surprised to find themselves prisoners. Some alarm had been given in the morning of the 22d to the people of Killala by the unusual appearance of ships of that size in their bay; in so much, that the only magistrate of the town, Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, had kept his corps under arms the whole day at the sea house, called the castle, as did also Lieutenant Sells of the Prince of Wales's fencibles, with twenty militia men. Yeomen and fencibles together formed a corps of fifty men, all Protestants.

The indentings of the bay of Killala, and the chain of hills between that town and the spot where the enemy landed, will in part account for the secrecy with which the debarkation was conducted. It is not without reason, however, suspected, that the peasantry had no intention to prevent the surprise that took place. Even among the bishop's servants, for some days before this event, a whisper had gone about, that the French were coming to Killala, and that something very terrible would shortly happen: a protestant servant maid, lately married to a Catholic inhabitant of the place, had circulated the report in the castle. Between seven and eight on that evening a terrified messenger suddenly announced to the bishop, that the French were landed, and

* See the Bishop of Killala's interesting and authentic narrative of this transaction throughout.

that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly, in full speed, with the intelligence to Ballina. The yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the castle gate, and resolutely advanced into the main street to meet the French advance guard.

Borne down by numbers, and seeing two of their corps fall, they were seized with a panic, and fled. Kirkwood and nineteen yeomen were taken, and ordered into close custody at the castle. All opposition being now at an end, the French General marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see the bishop, who fortunately was conversant with the French language. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension for himself or his people; they should be treated with respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops, but what was absolutely necessary for their support; a promise which, as long as those troops continued in Killala, was most religiously observed.

Mr. Kirkwood was examined, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighbourhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers, who came with the French, to which he answered with such an appearance of frankness and candour, that he gained the esteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family, and attend to his private affairs. The conjugal affection of this gentleman on the next day made him forget his parole, and go to attend his sick wife, who from the dread of the enemy had secreted herself in the mountains. Enraged at this breach of parole, the French took every thing they wanted out of his stores, oats and salt and iron to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned he found it a wreck.

The bishop's castle was made the head quarters of the French general. But such excellent discipline was constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them from a sideboard of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not one single article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could seize. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the French. Their cause was to be

forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future directory.

Though cash were wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good to a considerable extent. The first that offered their service received complete clothing to the amount of about a thousand. The next comers, at least as many, received arms and clothing, but no shoes or stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms, Colonel Charost assured the bishop, 5500 stand were delivered.

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of 200 men and 6 officers, and on the 25th, about seven o'clock in the evening took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach. Here he left behind him an officer named Truc, with a very small part of the French and several of the Irish recruits. Humbert was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigour, and that a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the natives to his standard. At Ballina many hundred peasants repaired to the French standard, and with eagerness received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and less than fifteen hundred Irish. He advanced through mountains, by ways generally deemed impassable to an army, with two small curricule guns, the repairing of the carriage of one of which, broken by the ruggedness of the roads, caused fortunately for our army, some hours delay in their march. The French were at seven o'clock within two miles of the town before which our army had taken their position on a rising ground to receive them.

Our artillery at first made such execution among the French, that they instantly fell back some paces. They then filed off in small parties to the right and left, and assailed our troops in flank, who had scarcely fired a second round, when the royal army seized with a panic, broke on all sides, and fled in extreme confusion through the town on the road to Tuam. Some have asserted, that General Lake gave an order for retreating. The force that general commanded at Castlebar fell very little short of 6000 men.*

* This most disgraceful conduct of our troops in the face of so small a force of the enemy has been differently spoken of by the several persons who

So strong was the panic of our troops on this fatal occasion, that they never halted, till they reached the town of Tuam, nearly forty English miles from the scene of action. On the night of the same day they renewed their march, after a short refreshment, and retired still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of carabineers, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the 29th, having performed a march of above seventy English miles (the distance of Athlone from Castlebar) in twenty-seven hours. The artillery, lost by our army in this defeat, consisted of fourteen pieces, of which four were curricule guns. Beside that of the carabineers, of

have written on the subject. Sir Richard Musgrave has selected half a dozen officers to whom exclusively (perhaps invidiously) he attributes the credit of attempting to rally their men, (p. 594.) "In justice to the Earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to observe, that they did their utmost to rally their regiments. The Earl of Granard, Major Tompson, Captains Chambers and Armstrong, rallied some soldiers of the Longford, and some stragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire, from behind hedges and walls, on the enemy as they advanced."

"The bishop of Killala thus avoids direct censure. (Narrative, p. 45.) The writer of this narrative professes only to describe what he saw and felt. It is not his business therefore, if he were competent to the task, to trace the events of an invasion, the first successes of which caused so much astonishment, or to shew by what means a handful of men continued so long to brave the force of a whole kingdom; men, who, from the time they missed their reinforcements from home, confessed their belief that they were no more than a forlorn hope sent to annoy the enemies of their country, and, that duty done, expected every hour to be forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war."

The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, (p. 285,) "I am informed by good authority, that the French officers, at the first view of the number and excellent arrangements of our troops, expected no other fortune than to be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, till observing the irregular fire of our musketeers, many of whom fired without orders, they conceived some hope, and advanced under cover of the smoke; but that they must have probably laid down their arms, if General Lake had not commanded a retreat, which was the real cause of the rout; and, that if General Hutchinson had been chief commander on this occasion, the career of the invaders would have ended at Castlebar."

There is no question, but that a very serious difference happened previous to the disgraceful action at Castlebar between General (now Lord) Hutchinson and General Lake: and that the army in general was strongly affected by the former's having been superseded in his command by the latter; General Hutchinson was acquainted with every inch of the country, and had prepared an able and efficient plan for stopping the progress of the enemy; he commanded alike the confidence of the army and the affections of the natives. As cruelty and cowardice are ever inseparable, it was unlikely that troops, which had debased themselves by massacring the fugitive, surrendered or unoffending, by burning their houses, and destroying their property, by torturing, strangling, and flogging the suspected to extort confessions, should, when left to themselves or under the command of the promoter of that savage warfare, bravely face an enemy, upon whom they dared not exercise their wonted atrocities.

which no return has been published ; our loss of men has never been stated accurately, nor the loss of the French ever known to us.

The Marquis Cornwallis, from the first intelligence of the invasion, had, notwithstanding the smallness of the invading army, been so sensible of the danger of rekindling the smothered flame of rebellion as to have determined to march in person against the enemy. His Excellency saw that the utmost caution was expedient, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army, immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller bodies of troops which might be defeated ; while these bodies were ordered to harass the enemy as much as possible without running risks, or engaging in battle without certainty of success. The marquis proceeded on the 30th of August in the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles distant from Castlebar ; in the evening of that day he received intelligence, that the enemy had abandoned their post, and marched to Foxford.

After their victory at Castlebar, the French received great accessions of Irish peasantry to their standard, who increased indeed the numbers of the enemy, but proved to be of no effectual aid to them ; the French had been taught to expect far more powerful assistance from the Irish.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony, was opposed on the 5th by Colonel Verreker of the City of Limerick Militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose, with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the 24th regiment of light dragoons, and two curricule guns. The colonel found the enemy arranged for his reception between him and the town of Coloony. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo, whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyshannon. Colonel Verreker proved himself a man of ability, spirit, and courage, in this affair : he was actually engaged with the whole French force, though he conceived himself to be engaged with the vanguard only.

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French general to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six pounders dismounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair, into the river. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumke-

rim, perhaps with design of attempting, if possible, to reach Granard in the county of Longford, where an alarming insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung so close on the rear guard of the French, as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulsed with some loss, and admonished to observe more caution in the pursuit. The French on their side are said to have mistaken the Colonel's army for the van-guard of the British army, and to have been thereby prevented from attempting to surround it.*

The French army passing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hours in the night at Claone, arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September, so closely followed by the troops of Colonel Crawford and General Lake, that its rear guard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the county of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, in his way to Granard; or should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honour of the French arms. The rear-guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they also surrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a prisoner. His lordship had precipitately advanced into the French lines to obtain their surrender. The rebel auxiliaries, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter of about five hundred men, which seems much less to exceed the truth, than the returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of the island. Notwithstanding the diminution by desertions on the march, about one thousand five hundred rebels were with the French army at Ballinamuck, at the time of the surrender of Humbert. The loss of our troops was officially stated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded. The troops of General Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of seven hundred and forty six privates, and ninety-six officers, having sustained a loss of about two hundred men since their landing at Killala on the 22d of August.

* Humbert is reported to have said, that Colonel Vereker was the only British officer he had faced that was fit to command fifty men.

It must ever remain an humiliating reflection upon the lustre and power of the British arms, that so pitiful a detachment as that of eleven hundred French infantry, should, in a kingdom, in which there was an armed force of above 150,000 men, have not only put to rout a select army of six thousand men, prepared to receive the invaders, but also provided themselves with ordnance and ammunition from our stores, taken several of our towns, marched* 122 Irish (above 150 English) miles through the country, and kept arms in their victorious hands for seventeen days in the heart of an armed kingdom. But it was this British army, which the untimorizing and gallant Abercrombie had, on the 26th of February, *found in such a state of licentiousness, that must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.*

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, in a line between the French and the interior country, is evinced, from the failure of an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which had taken place while the French were marching from Castlebar, and had been designed as a powerful diversion in their favour, and even to afford them a commanding post, whence they might more conveniently direct their operations against the metropolis. The plan was, first to seize the town of Granard, and then to attack the town of Cavan, where considerable stores of arms and ammunition were deposited. Granard was nearly surprised by a body of some thousand rebels, chiefly from Westmeath and Longford, on the 5th of September; but it was most ably defended by Captain Cottingham, of the Cavan and Ballyhaife yeoman infantry, whose whole force consisted of a hundred and fifty-seven infantry, and forty-

* *The following was the route of the French.*

	m.	f.
From Killala to Ballina	7	0
Back from Killala	7	0
To Castlebar	21	3
Round the west end of Lough Bar, and over the Barnagee mountains to Foxford	11	0
Cross the river May to Swineford	9	4
To Ballaghly	5	5
To Tubercorty	5	6
To Coloony	11	4
To Ballintogher	4	4
To Drumahaire	3	2
To Manor Hamilton	4	6
Back to Drumkerin	8	1
To Ballintra	7	1
Cross to Drumsnave	9	1
To Ballinamuck	6	1
	121	6

nine cavalry. Between two and three in the afternoon the rebels fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. Notwithstanding the speedy suppression of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Granard, and the surrender of the French army two days after at Ballynamuck, yet, in the county of Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the invaders, they still persevered in a state of insurrection. Humbert's surrender was not known in these parts for some days after. Castlebar, which on its evacuation by the French, had been occupied by the king's troops, was attacked in the morning of the 12th of September, by a body of rebels, reported to be two thousand in number. The garrison, consisting of fifty-seven of Fraser's fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and one troop of yeoman cavalry, was so judiciously posted by Captain Urquhart, of the Fraser's, as to completely rout the assailants, whose object probably was to plunder the town. All the places which had fallen into the hands of the rebels were now recovered, except Ballina and Killala, which remained some time longer in their possession. On his march from Castlebar on the 4th of September, Humbert had left no part of his army at Killala or Ballina, except three officers at the former, and one at the latter, to command the rebels who formed the garrisons of those towns. No force was detached from the army to re-occupy Ballina, till the 22d of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, upon their approach, the rebel garrison, with its French commander, Truc, fled towards Killala.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of Major General Trench, who would have been still some days later in his arrival, had he not been hastened by a message from the bishop, to announce the fearful apprehensions his lordship's family, and the other loyalists were under, from the ferocity of the rebels.

On the 23d of September, the arrival of General Trench, with a part of the army at Killala, and some other transactions of the French, whilst that part of the country was in the inglorious subjection to their rule, are thus faithfully narrated by the right reverend eye witness of them.*

"A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children, tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

* Narr. p. 145.

The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, and posted themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Crossmalina, and sent one part of them by a *detour* of three miles to intercept the fugitives, that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald the knight of Kerry, their colonel the Earl of Clandore attending the general. It is a circumstance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killala, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers, to lose no time in coming to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite side, though they had a league more of road to perform.

The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears.

We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy, yet (strange to tell !) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls ; they had a marshy ground on the left to surmount before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. Then followed the Queen's County

militia and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day.

After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the townsfolk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry from Crosmalina, or obliged to take the shore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves."

The town of Killala, thus recovered by his majesty's forces, had been thirty-two days in the possession of the French and rebels. Of the transactions, which occurred there during that period, the bishop's candid narrative is a most valuable and authentic historical document, extremely honourable to the writer, since it evinces a genuine goodness of heart, and a mind so cultivated, so candid, so elevated above vulgar prejudices, and the servile fear of party, as to discern and publicly acknowledge the virtues of an enemy.

The unbiassed writer thus describes the little army of invaders:.....Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline: yet, if you except the grenadiers they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature, for the most part, was low, their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse for the wear: to a superficial observer, they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no cover but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy under Buonaparte;

the rest were of the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses, that well accounted for their persons and wan looks.

The rebels, who had joined the French, were with great difficulty restrained by the French from plundering and abusing the loyalists.* "Indeed," says the right reverend narrator, "the contrast with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish allies, was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland. It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, that they were come to take arms for France and the Blessed Virgin." The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise, was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them (from their foreign education) being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop.

It was at one time strongly agitated, whether arms should not be put into the hands of all the Protestant inhabitants of Killala, in order to enable them to defend themselves against depredation and insult: and several had actually obtained them. However,† "after an hour's struggle several of the Protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and said they would trust themselves to the protection of the patrol, which put an end for that time to the disturbance.

"It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence, till at length the Protestants, harassed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant, that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any person's appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stripped of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killala, to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed but some house was rifled; scarce

* Narr. p. 96. † Narr. p. 52.

an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection.

“ But if it were doubtful, whether arms might safely be committed to every inhabitant of Killala, it admitted no dispute at all, that the town could not exist without some form of civil government. Depredators crowded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body that had property, whether Catholic or Protestant. The French, it was said, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into districts, appointing over each a municipal officer with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the scheme there had the desired success. A proclamation was therefore issued for establishing a similar form through the canton, over which Charost presided. The country was thrown into departments; a magistrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of sixteen or twenty men; arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation, that neither officers nor men should be marched out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any service except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killala was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant of the orders of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magistrate, unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman Catholic, and a man of sense and moderation. He had under him two assistants, of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent, if the French power had been firmer.

“ The example of Killala was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman Catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them; persons who had no desire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion, whether they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was, that he was no lawyer; but always having found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say, there could be no law forbidding to do under these circumstances what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported, that when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine: it might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not sound, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any

invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those, who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct, which in the fulness of security they took upon them to condemn. To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one, to preserve the peace of the community, provided by so doing you do not preclude yourself from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable law."

The court-martial began the day after the battle, and sat in the house of Mr. Morrison. Their proceedings at first appeared extremely slow, considering the multitudes they had to try, not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those, who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke. The trial of these two criminals was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in the park behind the castle. Contemprable for drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion.

Roger Macguire was found guilty but remanded to prison, and after a long confinement, he was transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he received sentence to be transported to Botany Bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged; some others were executed.

Thus ended the rebellion, or, more properly speaking, the various insurgencies in Ireland in the year 1798. Little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the several engagements and rencounters. According to the most probable accounts to be had from the War-Office, the number of the army lost in this rebellion amounts in the whole to 19,700 men; and according to the general government accounts of the total loss of the rebels, it exceeded 50,000.

CHAPTER VII.

• OF THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH IRELAND.

OUR remaining task is to trace the consequences and effects of this unfortunate rebellion, and mark the progress to that great political event, the incorporate Union of the two kingdoms, which so closely followed it. Whatever differences of opinion upon this subject may have existed in either kingdom, previous to the completion of that work, there can now but be one disposition and one sentiment of every loyal subject upon it: an ardent desire, coupled with efficient exertion, to render it preventative of future evils, and accumulative of future blessings, improvements, and permanent prosperity to Ireland and the whole British empire, now politically consolidated for those desirable ends.

Fierce as was the contest during this unfortunate warfare, and widely as the mild and firm control of the law was deviated from, yet did the whole transaction form a singular exception to the adage, *inter arma silent leges*. The parliament continued to sit and legislate during the whole time of the rebellion. In the months of August and September the examination of the chiefs of the rebels went forward before the secret committees of both houses, and their reports, which have been so often referred to, were then published. It appears, that government were anxious, that the reports of these committees should gain universal credit with the nation; and the more so, as an advertisement had appeared in some of the more popular prints cautioning the public against giving them credit.* On the 6th,

* Mr. Arthur O'Connor in his letter to Lord Castlereagh gives the following account of this misunderstanding about the publication of their evidence given before the secret committees. (P. 11.) "Pursuant to this agreement, at the instance of government, Emmett, M'Nevin, and I drew up a memoir containing thirty-six pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and views of the union, which we signed and delivered to you on the 4th of August last. On the 6th, Mr. Cook came to our prison, and after acknowledging, that the memoir was a perfect performance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it, but, as it was a vindication of the union, and a condemnation of the ministers, the government, and the legislature of Ireland, he could not receive it, and therefore he wished we would alter it; we declared we would not change one letter, it was all true, and it was the truth we stood pledged to deliver. He then asked us if government should publish such parts only as might suit them, whether we would refrain from publishing the memoir entire; we answered, that having stipulated for the liberty of publication, we would use that right when, and

therefore, of September 1798, the chancellor made the following further report from the committee of secrecy.

“ MY LORDS,

“ THE lords committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed up papers received from the commons on the twenty-third of July last, and to report the same as they shall appear to them to this house; having seen an advertisement in the public prints, signed Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, in the following words: [‘ Having read in the different news papers publications pretending to be abstracts of the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons, and of our depositions before the committees of the lords and commons; we feel ourselves called upon to assure the public, that they are gross and to us astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to the facts we really stated on those occasions. We further assure our friends, that in no instance did the name of any individual escape from us; on the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever, conformably to the agreement entered into by the state prisoners with government.

‘ ARTHUR O'CONNOR,

‘ THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

‘ WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN.']

“ have thought it their duty to examine the said Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, with respect to such advertisement, to the end that it might be ascertained whether they or any of them intended to contradict or retract any thing, which they had heretofore deposed before your committee. And your committee subjoin the several examinations on oath of the said Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, this day made and signed by them respectively upon that subject.”*

“ as we should feel ourselves called on; to which he added, that if we published, he would have to hire persons to answer us, that then he supposed we would reply, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and the government. Finding that we would not suffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary contest between us and these hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined to examine us before the secret committees, whereby a more complete selection might be made out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths, with which it was observed it abounded, might be suppressed. For the present I shall only remark that of one hundred pages, to which the whole of the information I gave to the government and to the secret committees amounts, only one page has been published.”

* 8 Lords Journal, p. 171. “ Arthur O'Connor sworn....Admits that the advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal, and Saunders's

Lord Cornwallis, whose magnanimity and liberality put the extortioners of the old system of rigour and coercion to the

" News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, was published by their authority. Says he does not mean to contradict, or retract any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons. Says he has now read the evidence given by him before the secret committee of the House of Lords, as printed in the appendix to their report, which he admits to be accurate, but wishes to explain himself upon two points contained in said evidence. First, that General Valence was not in the most distant manner connected or concerned in any negotiation carried on between the Directory of the Irish Union and the French Directory. Secondly, that it did not appear to him, that there was any connection between the Irish Executive Directory and any society in Great Britain; on the contrary, that it was proposed to the person who adjusted the terms of the alliance between the Irish Union and the French Directory in one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, that an invasion of England should take place at the same time that Ireland was to be invaded, to dissuade them from which, the Irish agent used such arguments as he believes were conclusive. ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

" Thomas Addis Emmet, Esquire, sworn....Admits that the advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, was published by their authority. Says he did not by said advertisement, nor does he in any manner mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons, but is willing to authenticate the whole of the evidence which he gave on those occasions in any manner that may be thought fit. Declares that the said advertisement alluded solely to misrepresentation in the news papers. Says that he has read the evidence stated in the Appendix to the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords, as having been given by him before that committee, and admits that the evidence so stated expressed nothing but the truth, but omits many reasons which he gave in justification of his own conduct, and of that of the members of the Union at large. Says, he does not mean to contradict any thing which has been so reported with respect to the military organization of the United Irishmen in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was after they had despaired of obtaining a reform in parliament by peaceable means, to effect a revolution by subverting the monarchy, separating this country from Great Britain, and erecting such government in Ireland as might be chosen by the people. Says, he does not mean to contradict the details given in the said reports, of the correspondence and connection of the Irish Union with the government of France, as far as he has any knowledge thereof, and which details he so far admits to be accurate. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

" Doctor William James M'Neven, sworn....Admits that the advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, was published by their authority. Says, he does not mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons. The advertisement alluded solely to the misrepresentations of the news papers which are not supported by the report of either house of parliament. Says, he does not mean to contradict any thing which has been so reported with respect to the military organization of the United Irishmen in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was to effect a revolution by subverting the monarchy, separating this country from Great Britain, and erecting a republican government in Ireland. Says, he does not

blush and defiance, took every opportunity to convince the nation, that a real change of system was adopted by the government; and fortunately for Ireland, the affections of numbers were reclaimed by a system of moderation and firmness, which had been estranged by that of uncontrolled severity and coercion. As early as on the 11th of September his Excellency Lord Cornwallis, wishing to prevent the delusion and consequent destruction of the multitude, published a proclamation*

"mean to contradict the details given in the said reports of the correspondence
"and connection of the Irish Revolutionary Union with the government of
"France, which details he admits to be accurate.

"WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN."

* A PROCLAMATION.

CORNWALLIS.

"Whereas, it appears that during the late invasion, many of the
"inhabitants of the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French
"forces, and did receive from them arms and ammunition; and whereas it may
"be expedient to admit such persons to mercy who may have been instigated
"thereto by designing men, we do hereby promise his majesty's pardon to any
"person who has joined the enemy provided he surrenders himself to any of
"his majesty's justices of the peace, or any of his majesty's officers, and
"delivers up a French firelock and bayonet, and all the ammunition in his
"possession; and provided he has not served in any higher capacity than that
"of private :

"This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof.

"Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, this 11th day of September, 1798.

"By the lord lieutenant's command.

"CASTLEREAGH."

On the debate on the attainder bill on the 20th of August, Mr. Ogle alarmed at the system of humanity so little congenial with his own feelings, which the policy, wisdom, and philanthropy of the chief governor had then began, thus spoke. "Great a traitor as he acknowledged Lord Edward Fitzgerald to have been, there were others, not only equalling, but exceeding him in criminality, as having gone to the extent of acting upon what he had only planned. What, he would ask, was to be done with these? Were they to be suffered to contemplate in security and without punishment the evils which they had brought on the country? Were they to have liberty of transporting themselves and property to other and happier countries, blessed in their escape from a land which they had made miserable? And were they to have to boast, amidst the enjoyments of another clime, and undiminished fortune, the horrors under which they had reduced their country. What was the situation of that once flourishing county, that of Wexford? What in it was the situation of the brave yeomanry, whose loyalty and courage were exerted in defence of their king and country, and who in the contest had lost every particle of their property, what was their condition? They were actually afraid to return to their homes amidst protected rebels, who, by a letter received since he came into the house he learned to be still committing murders on the loyal inhabitants."

Of this patricide clamour for spilling Irish blood by those, who had once fatally succeeded in extorting that ferocious and mischievous system, now checked and reprobated by English benevolence and wisdom, Mr. Grattan expressed his sentiments in a letter he wrote from Twickenham on the 9th of November, 1798, to the guild of merchants, corporation of Dublin, and fellows of Trinity college, concerning their attacks upon his character and

to induce them to submit. Although it did not at the moment answer fully the desired effect, yet was it not followed up by harshness or cruelty to inflame the existing or to provoke a new insurgency.

On the 6th of October the parliament was prorogued in the usual form, and his excellency delivered a very interesting speech from the throne.* About the same time a circumstance

conduct. Having addressed each rank separately, he thus concluded to the doctors. "Assure them, I am not their enemy, though they may be mine. But," continues he, "that is not the case with another description of men, with whom I should be ashamed to discourse in the same tone of temper and moderation; I mean that Irish faction, which is the secret mover of all this calumny and all his injustice; they stand at the head of a bloody combination; I look on them as the cause of the evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest I do not know a faction which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the constitution of Ireland; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine it; they introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of parliament! they then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that one of them was obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions he had used in another. They accompanied these offences by abominable petulance of invective uttered from time to time against the great body of the people, and having by such proceedings and such discourse lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of torture attendant on a conspiracy of which their crimes was the cause. And now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, where an Englishman at the head of its government struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant, or more sanguinary.

"I am ready to enter into detail of all this: enough at present to say, that I have been forced to write thus much, because I have no opportunity of vindication but the press, and no press but that of England. [This letter appeared in the Courier.]

"I shall conclude by assuring that faction, that I am apprized of their enmity, and shall go out to meet their hostility; hoping, however, that they may not be judges, or their blood-hounds my jury. At all events, if such a faction be permitted to dominate in Ireland, I had rather suffer by its injustice than live under its oppression."

• "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I HAVE the satisfaction of acquainting you that I have received the king's commands to release you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament, and am ordered to thank you in his majesty's name, for the unshaken firmness and magnanimity with which you have met the most trying difficulties, and with which the measures have been planned which you have adopted for the preservation of the country.

"I offer you my most sincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by his majesty's squadron under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson over the French fleet in the Mediterranean, which not only reflects the highest honour on the officers and seamen, by whom it has been achieved, but affords a prospect of the most beneficial consequences to the future interests of the British empire."

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I AM commanded to convey to you his majesty's particular thanks for the supplies, which you have so liberally granted, and by which you have manifested both the extent of the resources which this kingdom possesses, and the spirit with which they are employed by the commons of Ireland for the advantage of the state.

occurred of singular notoriety and importance to the welfare of Ireland. The Earl of Enniskillen, who ranked as a colonel in

" His majesty laments the necessity, which calls for the imposition of fresh burdens on his majesty's subjects, but he trusts that they will see how much their present safety and their future happiness depend on their exertions in the arduous contest in which they are engaged ; and he assures his faithful commons that the aids which they have afforded shall be carefully applied to the great object of maintaining the honour and promoting the interests of their country "

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" THE circumstances which have taken place since its commencement must render this session ever memorable.

" The foulest and darkest conspiracy was formed and long carried on by the implacable enemy of these realms for the total extinction of the constitution, and for the separation of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the intermitting vigilance of my predecessor in this government the treason has been detected ; the apprehension of the principal conspirators, and the salutary measures wisely adopted, checked its progress, and through your sagacious diligence it has been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its sources.

" A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the consequence of that conspiracy, has been in a great measure subdued, and the attempt of our inveterate enemy to rekindle the flame of civil discord, by sending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

" Religion, that greatest comfort and support of mankind, has been most wickedly perverted to the purpose of inflaming the worst of passions, and the vilest arts have been used to persuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign, which has been marked by a series of indulgencies to all sects of Christians, it is the intention of his majesty's government to oppress, and even to extirpate that description of his majesty's subjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection.

" The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have observed what has been the conduct of those, who affect to be their friends, towards the rights and the characters which they venerate, and under whose auspices the persecuted pastors of their church have found an asylum.

" Among a number of offenders some most active characters have necessarily been selected as objects of public justice, but in every period of this dangerous conspiracy the lenity of government and of parliament has been conspicuous, and a general act of pardon recently issued from the royal mercy, for the purpose of affording security to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded to return to their duty.

" The vigour and power of his majesty's arms, the loyalty, spirit and activity of his regular, militia and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial assistance of the militia and fencibles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt must be, either by treachery within or by force from abroad, to undermine or to overturn our civil and religious establishments.

" From the dangers which have surrounded you, and which you have overcome, you must be sensible that your security can only be preserved by persevering vigilance and encreasing energy. You will not suffer your efforts to relax, and you may be assured of my zealous endeavours to second your exertions. Our hopes and our objects are the same, that the deluded may see their error, and the disaffected be reclaimed ; but if an endeavour shall be made to abuse the royal mercy, and to form fresh conspiracies in the prospect of impunity, offended justice will then be compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full measure of his punishment.

" Amidst your measures, either of power, of justice, or of clemency, you have not forgotten to afford consolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their temporary relief, and the plan which has

the army, had ever been prominently zealous for the system of coercion and severity. It is to be hoped that few of his colleagues, associates, and co-operators in those measures supported them by the same infamous injustice and profligacy he notoriously did. It is however to be feared, from the common cause, which most Orangemen made with this nobleman's disgrace and punishment, that the sympathy of that association with the noble lord's disposition and conduct was lamentably too general. Disliked at first, the benevolent, magnanimous and just Cornwallis became henceforward execrated by the Orangemen : and they attempted to vilify that illustrious character by the opprobrious appellation of *Croppy Corny*. On the 13th of October a court martial,* of which the Earl of Enniskillen was the president, proceeded to the trial of Hugh Wollaghan, of Middlewood, in the county of Wicklow, yeoman, charged with having, on the 1st of October, instant, come to the house of Thomas Dogherty, and then and there shooting and killing the said Thomas Dogherty, to which he was encouraged by Charles Fox and James Fox, of the aforesaid county, yeomen : and the said James Fox was likewise charged with having discharged a loaded gun at Margaret Barry of Delgany, on the 1st October, instant.

The prisoner being duly arraigned, pleaded not guilty. It appeared in evidence from the testimony of Mary Dogherty, of Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, that the prisoner came into her house at Delgany, and demanded if there were any bloody rebels there....that on deponent's answering there was not; only a sick boy; the prisoner Wollaghan asked the boy if he were Dogherty's eldest son; upon which the boy stood up, and told him he was; Wollaghan then said, well, you dog, if you are, you are to die here; that the boy replied, I hope not: if you have any thing against me, bring me to Mr. Latouche, and give me a fair trial, and if you get any thing against me, give me the severity of the law; that Wollaghan replied, no dog, I don't care for Latouche, you are to die here; upon which

" been adopted for the further remuneration of their losses, are highly honourable to your feelings, and must, in every loyal breast, excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country.

" Since my arrival in this kingdom, I have received the most flattering assurances of your regard and approbation, which command my warmest acknowledgments; and whilst I feel myself thus encouraged and supported, and reflect on the loyalty which is so generally displayed, and on the force entrusted to my direction, I cannot allow myself to doubt of the success of our united endeavours for the welfare of this country."

* This court martial was holden in the barracks, at Dublin, by order of Lieutenant General Craig. Beside the president it consisted of

Major Brawn, R. I. D.

Captain Onge, ditto.

Captain Leslie, Fermanagh.

Captain Irwin, Fermanagh.

Captain Carter, R. I. D.

Lieutenant Summers, 68th.

deponent said to Wollaghan, (he then having the gun cocked in his hand) for the love of God, spare my child's life and take mine ; that Wollaghan replied, no, you bloody whore, if I had your husband here, I would give him the same death. He then snapped the gun, but it did not go off ; he snapped a second time, but it did not go off ; upon which a man of the name of Charles Fox, but not either of the two prisoners at the bar, came in and said, damn your gun, there is no good in it ; and that the said Fox said, at the same time to Wollaghan, that the man (pointing to deponent's son,) must be shot ; that deponent then got hold of Wollaghan's gun, and endeavoured to turn it from her son, upon which the gun went off, grazed her son's body, and shot him in the arm....the boy staggered, leaned on a form.... turned up his eyes, and said, mother, pray for me ! That on Wollaghan's firing the gun, he went out at the door, and in a short time returned in again, and said, is not the dog dead yet ? that deponent replied, ' oh ! yes, sir, he is dead enough ! ' upon which Wollaghan replied (firing at him again) for fear he be not, let him take this ; deponent was at that instant holding up her son's head, when he fell, and died !

No attempt was made to contradict any part of this evidence, but a justification of the horrid murder was set up, as having been done under the order of the commanding officer, and this was sworn to by George Kennedy, Corporal of the Mount Kennedy Yeomen, who deposed that Captain Armstrong of the King's County Militia, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after Dogherty was shot, in consequence of the enormities and murders committed in that neighbourhood by day and by night, gave general orders, that any body of yeomanry going out, (he would wish them not less than nine or ten for their own safety,) and, if they should meet with any rebels, whom they knew or suspected to be such, that they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but to shoot them on the spot ; that he, the witness, communicated this to the corps, and is very certain in the hearing of the prisoner Wollaghan, who was a sober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and not degrading the rest of the corps, one of the best in it. That it was the practice of the corps to go out upon scouring parties,* without orders to protect their own property, and that of their neighbours : and that he always looked upon it as an order, and practice of the

* These scouring parties under orders were so much matters of course, that it appeared from the testimony of these officers, they were considered as acts of military duty : nay, so brutalized were many of these corps, that they spoke of them as a diversion, which they called partridge shooting and grouzing : they hunted, not unfrequently, the brakes, hedges, ditches, and woods with dogs to spring any unfortunate peasant, that might have concealed himself from the fury of these blood-hunters, whom they instantly shot upon his appearance.

corps, particularly after what Captain Armstrong had mentioned, and, that the witness would himself from his character and the orders he had received have thought himself justified in shooting the deceased.

This evidence in justification was confirmed by one private, one serjeant, and two lieutenants of yeomanry. Captain Archer of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Yeomen, swore, that he had always found him a sober and diligent man; and since his being a yeoman, ready to obey his officers, and looked upon him to be an acquisition to his corps. Captain Gore deposed, that he had known the prisoner about four months, and that he was one of the best attendants on his duty as a yeoman, and that he knew him to be a loyal and brave soldier, and never knew him to be guilty of any act of inhumanity: that it was the practice of the corps to scour the country with an officer, and verily believed they understood it was their duty to shoot any rebel they met with, or suspected to be such; and deponent had heard, that other corps had similar directions in other districts. Here the defence closed, and the court after some deliberation acquitted the prisoner. When the minutes of this court martial in the usual way were laid before the lord lieutenant, his excellency was pleased to disapprove of the sentence, and conveyed his sentiments in the following letter to General Craig.

" Dublin Castle, 18th October, 1798.

" SIR,

" HAVING laid before the lord lieutenant the
 " proceedings of a general court martial, held by your orders in
 " Dublin Barracks, on Saturday the 13th instant, of which
 " Colonel the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to
 " acquaint you, that his excellency entirely disapproves of the
 " sentence of the above court martial, acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which by the
 " clearest evidence, he appears to have been guilty.

" Lord Cornwallis orders the court martial to be immediately dissolved....and directs, that Hugh Wollaghan shall be dismissed from the corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not be received into any other corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

" His excellency further desires, that the above may be read to the president and the members of the court martial in open court.

" I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

H. TAYLOR, Secretary.

" Lieut. Gen. Craig, &c. &c.

"**B. S.** I am also directed, that a new court martial may be immediately convened for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them, and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted as members."

As Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone may be properly called the founder of the Irish Union, which ended in the late bloody rebellion, it will be proper to shew the lamentable victim he himself became to his own treasonable projects. He was more than any other of the traitors in that cause, intimately convinced, that the separation of Ireland from all connection with Great Britain was essential to the prosperity and welfare of his country. After he had fled from the arm of justice in the year 1795, he was of all the Irish fugitives the most favoured and attended to by the government of the French Republic. He obtained a commission in their army, was taken prisoner in the autumn of 1798, and was brought up to trial by a court martial on Saturday the 10th of November. He appeared in court in his French uniform, and pleaded guilty to the crime of which he stood charged; alleging, that what he had once done, he should be ashamed to deny. He had, though unsuccessfully, attempted to do for his country, what Washington had succeeded in, what Kosciusko had failed in, and unlike them both he had forfeited his life: but a man engaged in such pursuits, should ever be ready to make that sacrifice. He in vain pleaded his French commission. With much difficulty he obtained leave of the court to read a paper, which in some passages was of such a tendency, that the court could not listen to it. These objectionable passages he consented to cancel, and gave in the rest.* He then delivered in several documents, which proved his brevet for the rank of chef de brigade, and a letter of service, both having the signatures of the president of the French Directory and the minister of war. He repeated his desire to be indulged

* This paper concludes in these words. "I conceive that I stand here in the same light with our emigres, and if the indulgence lay within the power of the court, I would only request what French magnanimity allowed to Charette and to the Count de Sombreuil; the death of a soldier, and to be shot by fire of grenadiers. This is the only favour I have to ask, and I trust, that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour, will not refuse the request. It is not from any personal feeling that I make this request, but from a respect to the uniform which I wear, and to the brave army in which I have fought. From papers which I yesterday delivered to the brigade major, it will be seen, that I am as regularly breveted an officer in the French service, as any here is in the British army, and it will be seen, that I have not my commission as a protection."

"*Judge Advocate.* I wish you to be aware, that your acceptance of a commission in the French service amounts to positive proof of the charge advanced against you, but, from your admissions already, I suppose that by the production of those papers, you merely want to shew that you were an officer in the French army."

"*Prisoner.* Nothing more."

with death in the most honourable manner, and as he had no doubt of the decision of the court, he expressed a wish that a confirmation of it by the lord lieutenant might be had as soon as possible, and execution of the sentence immediately follow, within an hour, if it were practicable.

On Sunday evening he was informed, that his conviction and sentence were confirmed by his excellency ; but that his request, as to the mode of execution, could not be complied with ; that he must suffer the same as others, who were taken in war against their king and country ; and that the peculiar circumstances of his case rendered it necessary. his execution should be in the most public manner ; that he must be executed in front of the New Prison. Unable to bear this agony, he took the resolution of anticipating the execution by his own hand, and when the sentinel went to rouse him on Monday morning, he found him exhausted, weltering in blood, with his throat cut across, and apparently expiring. A military surgeon was instantly called in, who pronounced the wound not mortal, though extremely dangerous, to whom Mr. Tone faintly answered, "*he was then but a bad anatomist.*" In the mean time a motion was made in his majesty's court of King's Bench, then sitting, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of the prisoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, on a charge of high treason, before a military court of seven members, sitting in the barrack of Dublin, though he did not belong to his majesty's army ; while his majesty's court of King's Bench was sitting, before which the prisoner might have been tried in the ordinary way ; Mr. Curran, who ably argued the point, moved, that an *Habeas Corpus* do issue forthwith to bring up the prisoner *instantly*.

The court immediately complied, and the officer who served the order on the provost marshal, returned with answer, that Brigade Major Sandys said he would comply with no orders but those of the commander in chief of the garrison ; the court immediately directed the sheriff to repair to the barrack, take Major Sandys into custody, and bring him before the court. The sheriff, on his return, reported, that Major Sandys was not to be found, that he had seen General Craig, at whose instance he accompanied the surgeon to Mr. Tone, and that the surgeon reported, the prisoner could not be removed into court without danger of instant death.

The surgeon attended, and made affidavit to the same effect, and the return of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was postponed for four days, and the court ordered the sheriff in the mean time to take the body of Theobald Wolfe Tone into his protection. In this situation he continued until Monday the 19th of November, when he died, having suffered most excruciating pain for

eight days. Thus ignominiously ended a man, whose qualities and talents, if rightly directed, would have graced the noblest cause.

After Ireland had suffered so much from the violence and cruelty of both parties in that lamentable contest, Providence could scarcely have reserved for her a more healing blessing, than the appointment of a viceroy, whose military talent kept the rebels in awe, whose firmness checked the sanguinary ferociousness of the terrorists; and whose benevolence secured the affections of the people. Through the confidence and influence, which these qualities commanded throughout the kingdom, was that great measure of incorporate union at last carried; yet in defiance of the humane, pacific, and conciliating exertions of that chief governor, in many parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the county of Wexford, the Orange associations were multiplied, and disunion, hatred, and religious acrimony increased upon the suppression of the rebellion.* It is unques-

* Having before renounced the function of nauseating the reader by a minute selection of instances of cruelty and injustice, yet is it necessary to support every general assertion by some one piece of illustrative evidence at least. In B. R. Mich. 1800. *Rex v. White and Goring*. In this term an application was made to the court of King's Bench for an information against Messrs. White and Goring, two magistrates of the county of Tipperary. The application was grounded on an affidavit of Mr. O. another magistrate of the same county, and captain of a corps of yeomanry. His affidavit stated the loyalty and activity of the said magistrate and his corps, and that they were obstructed in their endeavours to preserve the peace of the most turbulent part of the country, and to prevent a tendency to rebellion, by these two gentlemen.

Exculpatory affidavits were made by these two gentlemen, to which the court so far attended as to refuse the information. These affidavits were sworn on the 23d of January, 1801: they remain of record in the court of King's Bench, and contain among many others the following curious particulars.

That timber was cut and shaped into pike handles by the members of said corps of yeomanry, and persons employed by them, which they afterwards pretended to discover in consequence of secret information, but really in order to keep up an appearance of disturbance in the country; these facts were brought to light in consequence of the repentance and voluntary confession of persons concerned in the conspiracy.

It was sworn by these gentlemen, that the corps of yeomanry, on whose behalf this application was made, consisted of the indigent tenantry of their captain, who paid a rack rent for lands holden of him, and had no other way of discharging their rent, but by their pay, which the captain usually received and retained in discharge of his rent due from these yeomen his tenants; and that they were kept on permanent duty for the purpose of procuring this permanent pay. That there was no appearance of tumult or insurrection in the country, but that these persons circulated false reports of the disturbed situation of the country, in order to answer their own purposes; that persons were taken up, detained in prison, and fined under the timber act for the concealment of these pike handles, which were afterwards discovered to have been hidden by the procurement of the persons, who found them. It was also asserted upon oath in the same affidavits, that the magistrate, who made the application, arrested persons and detained them in his own house, where he and another magistrate, after dinner taking a glass of wine, and pretending to hold a petty sessions under the insurrection act, sentenced the prisoners to transportation; that these

tionable, that the continuance and extension of Orangism must perpetuate religious difference, rivet disaffection, and sharpen rancour through the nation. The fatal experience, which Ireland had had of the reluctance of its own government and parliament to forward the union of affection and interest amidst Irishmen of all denominations, the long continued conviction of the necessity of keeping up the English or Protestant ascendancy upon the Machiavelian principle of *division*, the assimilation of the contrary maxim to the spirit of the United Irishmen, which now gave plausibility to the renovation and extension to the old system of *divide & impera*, and the too successful efforts of the terrorists to couple or identify the terms *Papist, croppy, and rebel* on one hand, and *Protestant, loyalist, and Orangeman* on the other, superadded to all the vindictive consequences of a cruel

sentences were passed, and the parties sent to New Geneva, in order to be sent out of the country, without any examination of the prisoners, or confronting them with their accusers. That when these prisoners were afterwards, upon a representation made to government, and in consequence of an order from Lord Cornwallis, remanded back for a more regular investigation of their case, this corps pretending to act as an escort, took the prisoners, out of the route prescribed, to a different place from that ordered by the lord lieutenant, where it was more difficult for them to undertake their justification. The affidavits sworn in this case are very voluminous, and contain various instances of the like nature, tending to illustrate the oppressive conduct of country magistrates, and the means, by which rash or interested men irritated the people, and provoked a disposition to disturbance, where it otherwise would not have existed.

The actual perpetration of particular facts of outrageous provocation was perhaps the least part of the evil. The impunity, connivance, or countenance from the magistrates, and the acquittals of the guilty by Orange Juries and Orange Courts Martial (as in the case of Wollaghan) in the few instances in which the offenders have been brought to trial, indicate the depth and malignancy of the wound, and loudly proclaim the necessity of a radical cure, ere the constitution can recover its native vigour and energy. In the spring assizes of 1801, at Clonmell, the case of *Doyle v. Fitzgerald* produced a degree of alarming provocation throughout that part of the country. The plaintiff in this cause was a respectable tradesman of Carrick upon Suyr, named Francis Doyle. The defendant was Mr. Fitzgerald (commonly called the *flogging sheriff*) of Tipperary, against whom a verdict of 500*l.* had before been found for a similar act of brutality. The action was brought for damages for the tort and injury done to the plaintiff in the following manner. The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was seized in the street by the defendant in order to be flogged. In vain did he protest his innocence, which was also supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephson sent for, the commander of the yeomanry, of which he was a member: that was refused. He offered to go to instant execution if the least trace of guilt appeared against him on enquiry: that was also refused. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance: No, says the sheriff; I know by his face that he is a traitor ... a Carmelite scoundrel. The plaintiff was tied to the whipping post: he received one hundred lashes till his ribs appeared: he then had his breeches let down, and received fifty more lashes on his posteriors. The young man's innocence was afterwards fully established. He applied to a court of law for redress: the action was tried at Clonmell assizes: these facts fully proved: an Orange jury acquitted the defendant.

conqueror, imperiously called upon the British cabinet to attempt that important measure of incorporate union, by means of which alone the Irish nation could be effectually, though perhaps not instantly, relieved from the tyranny of an Orange ascendancy. From henceforth, the great object of the Marquis Cornwallis was to support, strengthen, and perpetuate the necessary plan of conciliation, by bringing about that great political measure of union with Great Britain.

A more arduous undertaking was never attempted, than to bring this measure to bear. Never was there so strong an opposition of conviction to any proposal of government in that kingdom; never so transcendant a necessity for carrying it. The ferment of the public mind operated in different instances both for and against its adoption. In fact it was a question, which admitted so much sound reasoning upon both sides, that must at least deprive each of the advantage of charging their opponents with prostitution of their convictions to their interests. In some families of the highest respectability, the father and son voted on the opposite sides; and this political variance produced no domestic difference. It must however in truth be admitted, that the nerves of several of the members in both houses of parliament were from the shock of the late rebellion so much weakened, that they unconditionally surrendered the exercise of any discretion upon the subject: many of them too readily gave up the prepossessions and convictions of their whole lives to the momentary lure of advantages holden out to the supporters of the measure; and some, it cannot be denied, basely sold what they sincerely thought to be the interest of their country for their private gain. It must also be remarked, that for the last twenty years no political character on either side had ever touched upon the question of union but in terms of marked reprobation and horror. Were it feasible, it would still be invidious, and not useful to the welfare of the *United* kingdom, to hand down to posterity the particular motives and grounds of the votes on the opposite sides. Those of the leading characters may be traced from the foregoing pages, or their speeches in the debates upon the Union. The knowledge of silent votes given upon any unwarrantable or corrupt principle could but produce contempt or disgust for certain individuals, without any effect either useful or desirable to the nation at large.

Even before the fury of rebellion had subsided, had the British ministry recommended preparatory steps to enable the Irish government to introduce the proposal of a legislative union with plausibility and effect on the first favourable opening. In pursuance of this recommendation a pamphlet was written or

procured to be written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of the civil department. It was published anonymously, but was well understood to speak the sentiments of the British administration, and the chief governor, and those of the Irish administration who went with his excellency upon the question of union. It was circulated with incredible industry and profusion throughout every part of the nation, and certainly was productive of many conversations to the question, under the then existing circumstances of that nation; the most prominent of which were, the still unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, the excessive cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Irish yeomanry towards their countrymen, compared with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the English militia, of which about eighteen regiments were then in that country, and above all, the confidence which the conciliatory conduct of their chief governor inspired. This *pamphlet was considered as a kind of

* Mr. Cooke's pamphlet was entitled—" *Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.*" It is written with correctness and moderation; and as the controversy commenced from the castle, it must be allowed to have been candid in government thus to have invited a public and unrestrained investigation. Before the end of December 1798, no fewer than thirty pamphlets were published in Ireland upon this momentous question, viz. " *Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.*" " *Thoughts on an Union, by Joshua Spencer, Esq.*" " *No Union; being an Appeal to Irishmen by, Mathew Weld, Esq.*" " *A Letter to Joshua Spencer, Esq. occasioned by his Thoughts on an Union, by a Barrister.*" " *An Union neither necessary nor expedient for Ireland; being an Answer to the Author of 'Arguments, &c.' by Charles Ball, Esq.*" " *An answer to 'Arguments, &c. &c.' in a Letter to Edward Cook, Esq. Secretary at War, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq.*" " *Second Letter, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq.*" " *An Address to the People of Ireland, against an Union, by a friend to Ireland.*" " *The Probability, Causes, and Consequences of an Union, by Dennis Taffee.*" " *Reasons against an Union, by an Irishman.*" " *Observations on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'*" " *Strictures on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'*" " *First Letter to a noble Lord, on the Subject of the Union, by Giles S. Smith, Esq.*" " *Cease your Funning, or the Rebel detected.*" " *A Letter addressed to the Gentlemen of England and Ireland on the Expediency of a federal Union between the two Kingdoms, by Sir John Jervis, White Jervis, Bart.*" " *A Reply to 'Arguments for and against an Union, by Richard Jebb, Esq.'*" " *A Report of the Debate of the Irish Bar, on Sunday the 9th November, on the Subject of an Union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Speeches of Messrs. Saurin Spencer, St. George Daly, Jameson, P. Burrows Barnes, T. Grandy, John Beresford Loyd, Driscoll, Goold, W. Bellew, Orr, Stokes, Geraghty, M'Clelland, Leader, Plunket, Lynch, F. Dobbs, and Webber.*" " *Some Observations on the projected Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the inexpediency of agitating the measure at this time, by J. H. C——, Esq. Barrister at Law.*" " *A Memoire on some Questions respecting the projected Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by Theobald M'Kenna, Esq. Barrister at Law.*" " *A Letter to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, on the proposed Union; in which his Excellency's political situation is candidly discussed, by an Irishman.*" " *An Address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, upon the Subject of an Union, by an Old Friend.*" " *A Letter to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq. on the Subject of his Memoire, by John Hamilton, Esq.*" " *Reply to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq. by Molyneux.*" " *Vaticination, or Pue's Occurrences Redivivus.*" " *The*

official proclamation of the sentiments of government upon the question, and had no sooner appeared, than it produced a general warfare of the press, and threw the whole nation into a new division of parties.

No sooner was the intention of government unequivocally known, than most of the leading characters took their ranks according to their respective views and sentiments, the Earl of Clare at the head of the Unionists, and the Right Honourable Mr. Foster, his late sanguine colleague in the extorted system of coercion and terror, put himself at the head of the Anti-unionists. Amongst the first dismissals for opposing the Union were those of Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the prime serjeant. The most interesting public meeting upon the subject of the Union was that of the gentlemen of the Irish bar. It has before been observed, that in Ireland the bar was the great road that led to preferment, and few were the families in the nation, which looked up to it, that did not furnish one gentleman or more to that calling. The bar consequently commanded a very powerful influence over the public mind, even independently of the weight of respectability attending the opinions of that learned body. In pursuance of a requisition signified by twenty-seven lawyers of the first respectability and character of the profession, a meeting of the Irish bar took place on the 9th of December at the Exhibition house in William Street, to deliberate on the question of a legislative union. The meeting was very numerous, and obliged to be adjourned from the courts to the above place.

Ambrose Smith, Esq. father of the bar, being called to the chair, Mr. Saurin opened the business, and after stating the question, as to the measure and period of proposing it, when the country was but just delivered from a rebellion, the most savage that had ever scourged a country, moved, "That the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an innovation, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture to this country."

Mr. Spencer (a gentleman who had taken a lead in opposing that measure, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject) seconded the resolution, and supported it in a speech of some length.

"Rights of the Imperial Crown of Ireland defended, by George Barnes, Esq."
 "Reply to Arguments for and against an Union, by J. B. Bethel, Esq."
 "Keep up your Spirits, or Huzza for the Empire, being a fair argumentative
 "Defence of an Union, by a citizen of the Isle of Man." "An Address to
 "the Electors of Ireland, on the present Situation of Affairs." "A Demon-
 "stration of the Inevitability of a Legislative Union between Great Britain
 "and Ireland, involving a Refutation of every Argument, which has been, or
 "can be urged against that Measure, by a Philosopher." "A Review of the
 "Question of Union, as it involves Constitution and Commerce."

Mr. St. George Daly moved, that the further consideration of that resolution should be adjourned for a month, and was seconded by Mr. Jameson.

On this a long, spirited, and most animated debate took place, which lasted for many hours, in which not only the propriety of the adjournment, but the merits of the question, was in many instances ably discussed. The supporters of the adjournment, and consequently those who opposed the resolution, moved by Mr. Saurin, were, principally, Mr. St. George Daly, Mr. Jameson, Mr. T. Grady, Mr. John Beresford (son to the Archbishop of Tuam), Mr. J. W. Stokes, Mr. Geraghty, Mr. M'Clelland, and Mr. Webber. On the other side were Mr. Saurin, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Peter Burrowes, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Driscoll, Mr. Goold, Mr. W. Bellew, Mr. Orr, Mr. Leader, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Francis Dobbs.

At eight o'clock a division took place.

Ayes for the adjournment	32
Noes - - - - -	166
	—
Majority	134

On which the following resolutions were put and carried.

At a most numerous meeting of the Irish bar, convened by public notice, on Sunday the 9th of December 1798, at the courts, and from thence adjourned to the Exhibition Room, William Street. Ambrose Smith, Esq. father, in the chair.

Resolved, "That the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture of the country."

It was then resolved, That the chairman do leave the chair, and that William Saurin, Esq. do take the same.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy father, Ambrose Smith, Esq. for his very proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

William Ridgeway, Secretary.

The city of Dublin, which it was natural to suppose would be more prejudiced by the Union than any other part of the kingdom, inasmuch as it would lose much of the advantages of a metropolis by the abolition of the parliament, was also prominently forward in its opposition to that measure. A post assembly of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin was convened on the 17th of December; who referring to a variety of rumours, that were then in circulation, of an intended Union of Ireland with Great Britain, came to the following resolutions: That by the spirited exertions of the

people and parliament of Ireland, the trade and constitution thereof, were settled on principles so liberal, that the nation had risen ever since rapidly in wealth and consequence. And, that having boldly defended the constitution in king, lords and commons, against the open and secret abettors of rebellion; they were determined steadily to oppose any attempt that might be made to surrender the free legislation of that kingdom, by uniting it with the legislature of Great Britain.

And on the next day, at a very numerous and respectable meeting of the bankers and merchants of the city of Dublin,

Lord mayor in the chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

" That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in the year of 1782, to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of that kingdom had eminently increased. That they attributed these blessings under providence, and the gracious favour of their beloved sovereign, to the wisdom of the Irish parliament. That they looked with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right, and immediate power to legislate for themselves. That impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to their king, and affectionate attachment to British connection, they conceived that, to agitate in parliament a question of the legislative Union between that kingdom and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic."

The public mind had not yet recovered from the agitation which had been occasioned by the rebellion, its predisposing causes and ever to be deplored effects.* The fever now took

* Many of the Orange party presuming upon the countenance and support of government which in the late administration they had certainly received, continued, particularly about Wexford, to keep up the old system of terrorism with impunity. Some of the old conductors of the castle journals had in the true spirit of their old employers justified and commended the conduct of Mr. Hawtrey White on a certain occasion, which produced the following advertisement from Mr. Sparks. I refer to one instance by way of elucidation of many others.

" Case of George Sparks, Esq.

" ON Sunday the 13th January instant, I left my house in order to go to church, and at the church met Captain Hawtrey White, of the Ballaghkeen corps and his troop, and I was told by Lieutenant James White they intended searching my house for arms; I told Mr. White my arms were there, and gave him a key of a tea-chest, where he would get General Grose's permission for keeping arms, and also General Lake's protection for my house and property. They proceeded to my house, and having plundered it of every thing portable, they burned my dwelling house, out-offices and baggard, and murdered my two servant boys, who were inoffensive spectators during the transaction. (I beg leave to remark, these boys were reared by my father from their infancy.) They carried off my horses,

a turn and raged with equal fierceness upon the question of a legislative Union with Great Britain, as it had upon that of the treasonable association of United Irishmen. All means were devised and attempted by both parties to gain proselytes to their respective opinions, and without going the length of sanctioning the false maxim, *that the end justifies the means*, it must in candour be admitted, that no political question was ever agitated with more sincerity of conviction, as none admitted of so much fairness of argument on both sides. The private reasonings of individuals in their several publications form no part of history : many of them on both sides bespeak the brightest talents, the most extensive information, and elevated independent and constitutional sentiments of their authors, who were mostly Irish. Most of the substance of these productions will be found to have been introduced by different speakers into the parliamentary debates of both kingdoms. The news journals from henceforward teemed with essays, addresses, protestations, puffs, squibs, censures, and encomiums upon this great political question, according to the different sides which they respectively adopted. Meetings were advertised of counties, baronies, parishes, and of every species of incorporation : religious discriminations indeed were not resorted to. Protestants, Dissenters, and Catholics in this instance, for the first time, fairly amalgamated into the general mass, and marshalled themselves into the ranks according to the civil convictions of their minds. Besides the meetings already mentioned of the gentlemen of the bar, and the corporation, and the bankers and merchants of Dublin, the fellows of Trinity College, and such of the students as enjoyed scholarships, had also a meeting, the result of which was, a request that the representatives of the University would oppose with firmness the projected Union. The gentry and freeholders of the county of Dublin met for the same purpose, and, having applauded the constitution of 1782, protested against an

" On returning to my house, I met with several of my neighbours, flying
" with terror and dismay, and told me to fly with my life, for the cavalry
" declared they would murder me, and previous to that day I heard several
" threats.

" It is necessary to state, that Major Fitzgerald had a recruiting party con-
" tinuous to my house ; I was happy to have an opportunity of accommodat-
" ing him with a room in my house where he kept his money and clothing, and
" where the recruits accounts were settled. I was glad to see his majesty's
" service promoted by draining the country of idle fellows.

" A man of the name of Murphy came to my house and enquired for Major
" Fitzgerald, that he might enlist with him ; he was desired to stop, for that
" Major Fitzgerald was expected home to dinner.

" After they had plundered the house as above stated, some shots were
" heard above stairs, and Murphy and a yeoman killed.

" I also declare there was no plunder nor concealed arms in my house.

" GEORGE SPARKS.

" *Wexford, January 17, 1799.*"

Union as hostile to the rights, liberties, and independence of Ireland. The freeholders of the county of Westmeath likewise declared against it, as it appeared to them to be calculated to 'exhaust Ireland, and debase her from her consequence and prosperity, and to increase the influence of the court in a formidable degree.'

The resolutions of a meeting at Galway were particularly strong; reprobating the attempts of the unionists as unconstitutional and arbitrary; denying the power of the representatives of the people to vote away the independence of the realm; condemning the transfer of the right of legislation to any foreign country, without the general consent of the people, as equivalent to a dissolution of the existing government, and as a procedure which, from its tendency to anarchy, ought to be resisted; and stigmatizing, as enemies to their country, all the supporters of such a measure. Mr. Foster completely inspired his constituents in the county of Louth, with his own decided repugnance to the measure, and the majority of the freeholders of that county threw their weight into the scale against it. It would be endless to recapitulate the different resolutions, which were entered into and published by different meetings against the proposed measure, even before the meeting of parliament. And so great indeed was the clamour excited by the idea of Union, that the general voice seemed to reject it with indignation; and language of the boldest kind, even bordering on defiance and sedition, was poured forth in most companies against it.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the parliament met according to the last prorogation, when his excellency in a very interesting speech* upon this important occasion, recommended to their peculiar consideration, the most effectual means of consolidating

* The following was the speech of the viceroy.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I HAVE received his majesty's commands to meet you

" in parliament.

" I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievements of the detachment of his majesty's fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Nelson, on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts of this kingdom, by that under the command of Sir J. B. Warren, and on the brilliant and important conquest of Minorca. Those events, while they afford to us in common with every other description of his majesty's subjects, matter of just pride and satisfaction, must at the same time give confidence to other powers, and shew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a system of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common enemy.

" I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a spirit of disaffection still prevails in several parts of this kingdom, and that the secret agents of the enemy are active in raising an expectation of fresh assistance from France.

" In this situation, and under the evident necessity of continuing the war with vigour, his majesty firmly relies upon that spirit and magnanimity

the strength, power, and resources of the two kingdoms. This speech gave rise to debates in both houses of parliament. The debate in the lords was less interesting, than that in the commons. An address was moved for in the lords, which as usual

" which have hitherto marked all your exertions in support of the honour of his crown, of the interest of this kingdom, and of the general cause of the empire.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I have ordered the public accounts and estimates to be laid before you, and as I am confident your wisdom will raise the supplies which may be necessary in the manner least burthensome to the subject, so you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application.

" It is with great satisfaction I observe, that notwithstanding our internal calamities, this kingdom blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the encreasing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have encreased.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions will require, and will, I am sure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give further attention to the just and honourable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

" His majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress, by every wise effort, the spirit of disaffection, which still requires the exercise of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occasion has required it, to acts of indispensable severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice, and the necessary exertions of the powers of the state, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be consistent with the public safety.

" In the general cause which engages the empire, our prospect is highly encouraging, but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts should be redoubled in order to secure it.

" The zeal of his majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill and valour of his majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other those divisions, which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

" The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

was an echo of the speech. The 12th paragraph of the address was to the following effect.

*“ That we thank his majesty for pointing our attention to this alarming circumstance, and as his majesty has expressed his anxious hope, that this most serious subject, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire, we shall be ready to give the fullest attention to considerations of such momentous importance.”

Upon which it was proposed by Lord Powerscourt to amend the said motion, by inserting after the word importance, the following words: “ That it is our most earnest desire to strengthen the connection between the two countries by every possible means, but the measure of a legislative Union we apprehend is not within the limits of our power, we beg leave also to represent to your majesty, that although this house were competent to adopt such a measure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic so to do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation of this kingdom from that of Great Britain.”

A motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate arose thereupon, and the question being put, the house divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the contents below the bar were 19, and the non-contents in the house were 46.

A motion was then made, that after the word “ security” in the said paragraph, the following words be expunged, “ and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire,” which also passed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the said word “ importance,” the following words be inserted, “ so far as may be consistent with the permanent enjoyment, exercise and tutelary vigilance of our resident and independent parliament, as established, acknowledged, and recognized.” This motion was also negatived by a division of 49 against 16. Fourteen of the lords in the minority protested.†

* 8 Journ. Lords, p. 192.

† Viz. Leinster,
Granard,
Belvidere,
Arran,

Charlemont,
Bellamont,
Mountcashell,
Kilkenny,

Belmore, Dunsany,
Powerscourt, Lismore.
De Vesci,
Wm. Down and Connor,

In the commons Lord Tyrone moved the address, which he said did not pledge him in any manner to support the measure of an Union; let that question of policy stand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the interests of Ireland and the prosperity of the empire should dictate. If upon investigation it should be found conducive to the advantage and strengthening of both; no clamour, no violence should make him swerve from the honourable line of his duty.

Colonel Fitzgerald, (member for the county of Cork) seconded the address, expressing a zealous desire that any step likely to cement and strengthen the connection between the two countries should be adopted.

Sir John Parnell said, that as the speech did not avow the measure of legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nor recommend it directly to the consideration of the house, it would be unnecessary in that stage of the business to discuss the question, but the measure having been publicly avowed and introduced by a side wind into the speech, he should oppose it *in limine*, as being a question simple in its nature, and on which no further information was necessary, than to shew that they were called on to put an end to the existence of an Irish parliament, and to determine on the permanent and essential interests of their country for ever. They were called on to decide their constitution, their trade, their property, and on what was of still more consequence, the feelings of the public connected with a surrender of the constitution: an affrighted commerce, and a diminished property. This would lay a ground for growing discontent, not promoted by declamation or irritation, not to be treated as the momentary convulsion of popular feelings, but proved by facts, which aggravated by experience must acquire force the longer it was suppressed, and produce consequences greater than he wished to venture to state. He then adverted to the argument that a measure, which had been beneficial to Scotland, would equally benefit Ireland. Ireland did not stand in the same relative position that day as England did in respect to that country at the time of the Union. The measure was then justified by necessity. This was so well understood, that according to Defoe, it was not unpopular in Scotland when first proposed: it became so by publications calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Scotland had by an act of its parliament, divested the family of the succession of the crown, on whom it had been entailed by the parliament of Great Britain.

The English parliament had in return declared the people of that country aliens, and had interdicted their trade: there was no choice but submission or Union. But though a similar necessity did not exist in Ireland as did at that time in Scotland,

it was asserted that there existed a necessity equally cogent to make the adoption of the measure unavoidable in that country, viz. the contest between the Catholic and Protestant, and foreign invasion. Could an act of parliament modify the constitution, or alter the minds of those who proposed to overturn it? Could it stop the progress of invading fleets, or the rash enterprise of a desperate army? Would the Catholic and Protestant mind be satisfied by each party ceasing to have a parliament within their reach? They had better know their interest by relinquishing jealousies, whereby they had been sufferers in the extreme, and avoid by the continuance of them injuring the interests of their country and posterity for ever.

It was alleged, that the Irish parliament was liable to influence, and not fit to be intrusted by the crown or the people: what a silly charge! Their conduct that night, at the same time that it would defeat an injurious measure, would confute the reasoning offered in support of it; by proving their independence, they would prove the falsehood of the calumny, which impeached it. The evils complained of might be best remedied, in the case of the religious distinctions, by recollecting that they had a common interest with them; their affections were to be acquired by good treatment; and all to be preserved by the efforts of a steady and wise government. He had formerly voted against Catholic claims, not from dislike to any individual for his religion, but on a principle that it was unwise to change the existing government; notwithstanding he had lived happily among them, and was satisfied, that if their passions had not been worked on, the spirit of affection would have prevailed, from the justice and moderation of the Protestant resident landlords, which would have proved, that the discontents founded on religious prejudice, ought to have subsided in Ireland, as they had done in other countries.

The efforts of the enemy were better to be opposed by military force than by speculating on the constitution: by relying on those, whose loyalty they had experienced, than by risking the effects of alarming their feelings by innovating on the principles of the constitution. It was better to meet the evils which they knew, than risque others, the extent of which they could not measure, viz. the entire surrender of the whole of their interests, for they were included in their constitutional privileges. He solemnly declared, he acted under no influence but that of his judgment. He recommended to them to adopt a similarity of sentiment with England: and reply to the advisers of the measures, which had been proposed, what England formerly did to the court of Rome, *nolumus leges Hiberniæ mutari*.

Mr. Tithe expressed the pleasure he had in concurring in sentiment with the right honourable gentleman, though he would

enter into no discussion of the question until it were brought directly before the house.

Lord Castlereagh felt himself called upon to say, that although there were not in the address any specific pledge to a measure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire: for he had no difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connection with Britain, were to be found in a legislative union; and on that subject he did intend at an early day to submit a specific motion to the house.

Mr. G. Ponsonby entered on an able attack and exposure of the general principle of an union, by boldly avowing the principle, that neither the legislature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to annihilate the Irish parliament, and deprive people for ever of their right to the benefits of the constitution, to civil liberty.

The minister had told them they ought to discuss this measure with coolness; but when the minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the crown, because they would not prostitute their conscience: when the terror of dismissal was thus holden out to deter men in office from a fair exercise of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool discussion? He concluded, by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman, who did not wish to pledge himself to a surrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of speaking his sense. The amendment was, that after the passage which declared the willingness of the house to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the empire, should be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognized by the British legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

Sir L. Parsons seconded the amendment.

Mr. Conolly opposed it, for the same reason which he had urged against the constitution of 1782, namely, that that constitution could not work two independent legislatures in one empire, being as absurd and monstrous, as two heads on one pair of shoulders. He gave a short history of the country from 1782 to that time, and shewed, that many of the evils they had since experienced, had arisen from the independence of the legislature, and particularly dwelt upon the notorious fact, that there had been 116 placemen and pensioners at one time in the House of Commons ever since that period. What was such independence worth?

Mr. Frederick Falkiner agreed with Mr. G. Ponsonby : he did not think the lord lieutenant's conduct, since he had had the administration of that country, deserved his praise. To Lord Camden the country was indebted for their preservation, in the glorious yeomanry institution. The horrid and unnatural rebellion was put down before that nobleman left the country ; and had he remained there a little longer, it had been completely extinguished, and the yeomanry upholden in that degree their services so highly merited.

Lord Clements supported the amendment, and hoped too it would be strenuously opposed by all the virtue of the British senate, as a measure only calculated enormously to increase the power of the crown, and influence of the minister, and therefore ruinous to the true prosperity of the empire.

Mr. Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant, said, that nothing could contribute to defeat the measure, or to awaken the honest indignation of the independent gentlemen of Ireland, so effectually, as an open and avowed war against the freedom and liberties of parliament, by the removal of the trusty servants of the public from their situations, which they held with honour to themselves, and advantage to their country. It being thought necessary to hold them out as examples to stop the growing mutiny and insurrection of honour and conscience against the influence of office. No man could hold a place under government, who did not vote for that measure. But the British minister, he pledged himself, was too wise and too magnanimous to wish for an union on such terms.

If the amendment, which his honourable and learned friend had proposed, and supported with such transcendent ability, should not be carried, that, he feared, would be the last time he should have the honour of addressing an Irish parliament ; for though the pageantry and ceremony of its funeral might take up some time, and give opportunities for lamentations, yet, if the amendment were negatived, the character of parliament would be extinguished : and character was a phoenix, which died but once, and from its ashes there was no resurrection. Considering, that the question involved every thing that could be dear to a nation, he would trespass upon the house, and briefly state the principle of his vote. Contrary to the influence of every private affection, and differing from those, with whom he had long acted, and to whom he would yield his own opinion on any measure of temporary effect, he adopted the amendment, because his mind was impressed with this conviction, that the extinction of the legislature of Ireland would, sooner or later, produce a convulsion, in which the connection between Great Britain and Ireland would be at stake, and would render that devoted coun-

try more than ever subject to the intrigues of France, emasculated of that vigour and energy with which it ever had, and he trusted, whilst it retained its independence, ever would stand by Great Britain. It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of parliament, to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. The constituent parts of a state are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those, who derive any serious interest under their engagements; such a compact may, with respect to Great Britain, be an union; but with respect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a most alarming nature. He referred to Dr. Johnson's remark to an Irishman on the subject of an union: "don't unite with us," said he, "we shall unite with you only to rob you; we should have robbed the Scots, if they had any thing to be robbed of." The British nation had been deceived, to think that the people of Ireland were tired of their parliament—that their parliament was unworthy. It would indeed prove its unworthiness by consenting to its own extinction. It was the misfortune of the day, that the opinions and motives of men were generally misrepresented.

Mr. Fitzgerald, (Knight of Kerry) opposed the amendment, because the rebellion having shaken the country to its centre, made some arrangement necessary; because it was obvious, the country could not have been saved, and was now preserved but by force. That was a state in which things could not long remain, because principles had got among the people of the country, which induced them to give their confidence to parliament only so far as the parliament tended to sever the connection; and finally, because if that principle were not checked, it must ultimately end in separation. He attributed much of the existing mischief, to the parliament being founded on too narrow a base, and to the unhappy difference of religion which existed in the country; both those circumstances gave a cast of prejudice and bigotry to the Irish parliament. The happiness of the country then demanded that they should resort to an higher and more enlightened legislature, who would be above those local prejudices. With regard to the civil rights of the people of Ireland being surrendered by an union, he knew of no rights, which they had not from the law of England, and by that law they would continue to be governed after an union, perhaps better than before.

Colonel Vereker said, that if he could be persuaded that a legislative union with Great Britain would insure internal tranquillity to his distracted country, that it would prevent foreign invasion, or add to the national wealth, he should cheerfully agree in the principle of it; but entertaining the opposite

sentiments, not taken up hastily, but upon mature consideration, he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. O'Hara said, the Irish parliament had uniformly been making acquisitions for the country from the time of the octennial bill to that day. He denied the right of parliament to alter the constitution, and supported the amendment.

Mr. Lee would willingly give up national pride, or any such passion, if the sacrifice would secure tranquillity, but he was convinced it could have no such effect. There was some radical error in the system of Irish government. It should be sought for and corrected; else here the seeds of discontent would fructify for ever. England was approaching her grand climacteric. Once she was democratic, and at that time the minister was obliged to look to the landed interest for support. Since the revolution, though there were not 116 placemen and pensioners in the British House of Commons, (there were only 80) yet the minister was become less dependant on the country gentlemen; they had since that period continued to become less important to the minister of the day: and dupes indeed would be the landed men of England, if they ever suffered one hundred Irish members to be introduced into the British Commons; for then, indeed, the minister would be independent of them and of the country. With his forty-six Scotchmen on one hand, his corps of seapoys, (for even the Nabobs had representatives in that virtuous parliament to which they were called to give up their interests), on the other, and his one hundred hardy Hibernians as a corps of reserve, what might not he do, thus supported? Parliament was not competent to the change they were called on to make: but they might be made competent. Let the parliament be dissolved, and a new one summoned, with public notice, that they were assembled for the express purpose of considering the measure; and such a parliament would come commissioned with express authority for the purpose. He gave his decided approbation to the amendment.

Mr. Crookshank, in a very long speech, supported the amendment: and concluded, by conjuring the house to recollect its sacred trust, its solemn responsibility; to preserve and restore to their constituents inviolate, that constitution under which they had prospered beyond example, and the surrender of which, by a sordid unequal contract, could produce no benefit whatever, and must entail evils and misfortunes incalculable on the country.

Mr. St. George Daly thought nothing but such a radical arrangement could heal the distractions of their country. He allowed parliament was incompetent to take away the rights of the people; but he denied, that an union violated any right. He allowed praise to the framers of the constitution of 1782; but

contended it was the separate and independent existence of the two legislatures then established, which made the measure now necessary.

Mr. M'Naghten confessed and declared it to be his firm opinion, that the only method of securing the connection between the two kingdoms, and the existence of that country as a civilized state, was a legislative Union. His opinion was the result of long and serious reflection.

Sir Boyle Roche said he was for an union, to put an end to uniting between Presbyterians, Protestants, and Catholics to overturn the constitution.

Honourable Mr. Skeffington reprobated in strong terms the idea of transferring or surrendering the legislative independence of Ireland to any power on earth, and warmly supported the amendment.

Mr. French said, that the able discussion of the question had fully convinced him, that parliament was not competent to decide on the question of an incorporating Union with Great Britain. He therefore supported the amendment.

Colonel B. Maxwell fully concurred with Mr. G. Ponsonby, that parliament was totally incompetent to entertain the measure; he therefore gave it his most unequivocal and decided opposition *in limine*. A parliament which could be base enough to betray the rights and liberties of their country, not only at present, but to all future generations, would deserve annihilation. He conjured the house, as they valued their own character, as they valued the liberties of themselves and their posterity, as they valued the British connection, to convince the minister of Great Britain, that they were determined, at the risque of every thing that was dear to them, to support and hand down unimpaired to their posterity, the rights, liberties, and independence of their native land.

Colonel Archdall would oppose the Union in every shape.

Mr. Barrington (judge of the Admiralty) rose with great agitation. The existence of Ireland was in question, and he felt his feeble talents shrink before the colossal magnitude of the subject: he had heard of calm and dispassionate discussion; it was the language of a slave; he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or indifference must be less than man, or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, whatever spirit, whatever energy God or nature had given him, he considered himself as holding but in trust for his country, to be expended for her use, whenever her oppressions or distresses drew for their assistance. He loved his king, he adored the constitution, and he now considered himself as defending both, against the desperate system of an indefinitely ambitious minister. The Irish parliament had heretofore deliberated on revo-

cable local regulations, or national arrangement, but now a mighty and imperial question opened itself for their discussion: a project, to subject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a minister already stronger than the crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important usurpation stolen into parliament through the fulsome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the house to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of convalescence calling on it to commit suicide. Ireland had not fair play; her parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he believed, had been used to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to seduce a suffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He had good reason to believe, that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish parliament.* Some of those means were open and avowed: two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved officers of the crown had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates, on a subject where their country was at stake; their removals crowned them with glory, and the minister with contempt. He asserted, that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced against their will to vote against their country: he had good reason to believe, that unconstitutional interference had been used by the executive power with the legislative body; one gentleman refused the instructions of his constituents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of parliament; if this were true, it encroached on the constitution, and if the executive power overstept its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amazement how the same people could have been wise enough to frame the best constitution upon earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland. The British minister had too much wisdom to have pressed this measure on Ireland, had he known her temper and situation; but he had been greatly deceived by misrepresentation from that

* Here Mr. Barrington was called to order, and his words desired to be taken down; on which Mr. Plunket rose, and declared the same opinion, and his determination to use stronger language; and recommended the words to be taken down in order to bring the subject forward. This not being persisted in by the Treasury Bench, Mr. Barrington continued.

country; hot-headed injudicious spirits had been listened to, whilst the sage and honest representation of the wisest of Ireland's children had been disregarded. These were objections to any discussion of the subject; and much as he respected Great Britain, no idle parade of compliment should prevail upon him one moment to lose sight of Ireland. He then argued at length on the incompetence of the Irish commons to surrender the essence of their delegation.

The treacherous reasons assigned for the completion of this project, were their differences and misfortunes; differences which arose from the duplicity of that same minister, who now sought to subdue them, and misfortunes which were stimulated by him, to adapt them for his own conquest.

Why should they apply to 547 English and Scotchmen, to arrange their trade and modify their national establishments? It was absurd and insolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious and pusillanimous to submit to it.

Great Britain had nothing to give, which could compensate the loss of independence; they asked no favour from her, and would submit to no injury, they would unite with her as a friend and as a sister in the common cause; their lives and their properties should be united with her in support of their king and constitution; they would rise and fall with her; but they would not submit to be ruled by a British faction, and plundered by a British minister, to satisfy the avarice or the jealousy of those persons, to whose confidence and liberality that minister owed his gratitude, and which he could only repay by heaping burthens upon Ireland. It was clear as noon-day, that his system had been most treacherous; his government in Ireland excited the different sects to oppose each other: an indolent system was adopted, to permit some strength to the disaffected; then a vigorous system, to give energy to the loyalist. Then government acted on the defensive against treason; then the minister plunged into martial law; the Catholic and the Protestant were alternately encouraged and depressed; the loyalty of the yeomanry saved Ireland; both parties had bled and were weak; and what is called the lenient system was adopted; the rebel was pardoned, and sent back to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyalist were either insulted, oppressed, or degraded, in some instances executed; the loyal national spirit was purposely suppressed; and when all was ripe for a government revolution, the measure of an Union, equally oppressive and disgusting to every class and every sect, was brought forward, in expectation that the Irish were too worn, too weak, and too indifferent to resist or reject any thing which professed to be for their tranquillization. And to prove that this system was adop-

ted for these purposes, it was only necessary to recollect the words of the noble lord who proposed it: "that it had been a measure long considered and maturely weighed." If that were the case, it was obvious, that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity; and equally obvious, that it had been purposely postponed, till that desperate system had sufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the minister's will and pleasure. But the parliament had yet virtue enough to resist an act of national degradation. The British minister had better be aware of this system of treachery and fraternization; it was by the very same means, and for the very same objects, that the French Republic had over-run all Europe; and with the very same system, and for the very same purposes that she had assailed Ireland. A desperate example to the British empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generosity and character of the British nation!

The compact between Great Britain and Ireland was not all on one side. She took Irish linens; Ireland fed her fleets. She protected Irish trade; Ireland gave her soldiers. There was no nation on earth would not be proud of their connection on the same terms. It never, therefore, should be said, that the dependance was solely on one side. England might ruin Ireland; but in doing so, she would destroy herself: and she is too wise and too cunning to suppose, that a wounded limb could give vigour to an enfeebled body. He said, that on the abstract question he was clear and decided; the discussion of detail admitted a principle, which he was determined to resist by every means and to every extremity. He declared his sentiments openly, boldly, and decisively, that no terms which Great Britain could grant, no favour she could bestow, could form any compensation for the loss of their independence and security; and though he had on most subjects freely and zealously given his support to the king's government, on that question no earthly consideration could ever console him for surrendering the honour, the security, and the liberties of his country.

Sir J. Blaquiére in strong terms resisted the charges of undue influence, and corruption, made by the honorable member against the administration; observing how completely that charge was refuted, by the conduct and speeches of so many gentlemen, the reputed friends of government. Was it he asked, possible, that any tranquillity could be expected in the land, whilst so many causes of discontent and dissatisfaction among the people remained? Were not the Catholics looking for emancipation; the Presbyterians for reform; a great bulk of the people for a regulation of tithes? Did not all these discontents aggregated together, and abetted by the machinations of the united societies, make a formidable enemy in their bosom? There were not two

ways of meeting it. The honourable member who proposed amendment, with a flow of such transcendant eloquence, as had seldom been heard in that house, had expressly stated, that the Roman Catholics must oppose the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the subject; but he should speak his own :... That the Roman Catholics, under the present order of things, could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they asked, without imminent danger to the Protestant establishment, both in church and state; but if once an Union should be adopted, all those difficulties would vanish, and he should see none in granting them every thing they desired. What the sentiments of government upon that subject were, he knew not; he spoke his own.

Remove these difficulties, unite with England, and see the proud ground on which Ireland was placed. Ireland, geographically and physically considered, stood pre-eminently before all other nations, the fit mart or emporium of the known world. She embarked in the inviting commerce, aided by English capitals, without taxes, and without a debt, whilst all the other nations of Europe were sinking under their burthens. Peace among themselves, and security against the common enemy, was all he desired: and if any man would shew other means, by which those objects could be obtained, he would vote against the Union;but gentlemen knew it was impossible.

Mr. Dobbs declared, that the system of governing Ireland by corruption, had filled them with disgust and indignation. The horrors of the late rebellion, and the dreadful animosities still existing, inclined them to listen to any thing likely to tranquillize the country. He had never for a moment considered a legislative Union but an evil; and he had only hesitated whether, by accepting it, he might not avoid a greater. With these feelings, he had given the subject a full and dispassionate investigation; the result was a decided opinion, that Great Britain could propose no terms that Ireland ought to accede to.

The noble lord had said, if it be the wish of the people and parliament, that the measure should be adopted, it ought to be acceded to. That he did not deny. But that sense should be fully ascertained, without compulsion, or undue influence of any kind. Now, as far as the voice of the people had been yet collected, it was decidedly against it; and nothing but force, actual or implied, with the aid of undue influence, could carry the measure against Irish independence. What signified declarations of consulting parliament and the people, when actions, the best of all testimonies, spoke coercion and undue influence? Two gentlemen, high in office, had been turned out, because they expressed a will of their own on this great question, *in terrorem* to all who held offices, from which they could be dismissed. He

had a partiality for the present administration ; but a conduct of that nature would turn that partiality into enmity. He told the noble lord, that if the measure were carried by such means, against the public sentiment, he was not uniting, but separating the two countries.

He openly avowed, that though he had hitherto been the warm friend of English connection, he would meditate separation, from the moment that a legislative Union should be carried by force, whether that force were direct or implied.

Mr. Knox (member for Philipstown) lamented, that that accursed measure had long been the favourite object of that minister in England, whose wild ambition had already led to the destruction of empires ; and which then sought to annihilate that nation. In order to forward that wicked scheme, great pains had been taken by those, who managed the affairs of government under his guidance, to promote and keep alive among the people every distinction of party and religion, all differences of opinion whether in politics or religion had been industriously fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to distract and divide the inhabitants of that land. If that fatal measure should ever be carried, henceforth that insulted, degraded, debased country would be made a barrack, a depôt from whence to draw the means of enslaving Great Britain, and no resource left to save either country but a revolution.

Mr. Hans Hamilton declared that an Union was a measure he should ever firmly oppose within those walls with his vote, without them with his life ; but he foresaw that the hour was at hand, that would prove this to be the most glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and that would enable the members to go forth to their constituents, and to assure them they were represented by an Irish parliament, that never would betray their independence.

Sir J. Freke also spoke in support of the amendment.

Lord Castlereagh felt, that in justice to himself and to his country he ought to state his reasons for favouring the measure of a legislative Union with Great Britain. He had listened with patient attention to much heated declamation, but had heard very little sound reasoning. He had heard imputations cast against his side of the house, that might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners.

His lordship trusted, that no man would decide on a measure of such importance as that in part before the house, on private or personal motives ; for if a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could ever affect the country. What was the object of this measure, but such as every loyal man, who really loved his country, must feel the strongest

attachment to ; by an incorporation of their legislature with that of Great Britain, it would not only consolidate the strength and glory of the empire, but it would change their internal and local government to a system of strength and calm security, instead of being a garrison in the island. That was but a part of many and numerous advantages, which the stage of the business did not then render necessary to be entered into, and which would come more suitably at a future period. As to the argument of the parliament's incompetency to entertain the question, he did not expect to hear such an argument from constitutional lawyers, or to hear advanced the position, that a legislature was not at all times competent to do that, for which it could only have been instituted ; the adoption of the best means to promote the general happiness and prosperity. After the melancholy state, to which that country had been reduced, his majesty's ministers would feel that they abdicated their duty to the empire, if they did not seriously consider that state, and adopt the best remedy for the evils which it comprised. It was the misfortune of that country to have in it no fixed principles, on which the human mind could rest : no one standard, to which the different prejudices of the country could be accommodated. What was the price of connection at present with Great Britain ? A military establishment far beyond their natural means of support, and for which they were indebted to Great Britain, which was also obliged to guarantee their public loans. It was not by flattery, that the country could be saved. Truth, however disagreeable, must be told ; and if Ireland did not boldly look her situation in the face, and accept that Union which would strengthen and secure her, she would perhaps have no alternative, but to sink into the embrace of French fraternity. You talk, said his lordship, of national pride and independence, but where is the solidity of this boast ? You have not the British constitution, nor can you have it consistently with your present species of connection with Great Britain. That constitution does not recognize two separate and independent legislatures under one crown. The greater country must lead ; the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns : but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will must be preceded by establishing one common interest.

As the pride of Ireland advanced with her wealth, it might happen, that she would not join Great Britain in her wars. It was only a common policy, that would make that certain. Incorporate with Great Britain, and you have a common interest and common means. If Great Britain call for your subjection, resist it : but if she wish to unite with you on terms of equality, it is madness not to accept the offer. Gentlemen had distinguished the case of Scotland from that of Ireland ; but they were directly

the same. All questions had arguments on both sides : the least evil was to be chosen. One objection to the measure was, that the legislature would not be local. For that reason the measure should be adopted. With a local legislature, and the present division of the people, Ireland could not go on. Other objections arose : but they all terminated in local prejudice or pride, and all of them that had been started, discussed and refuted in the case of Scotland. Absentees formed another objection. They would be somewhat increased, no doubt, by an Union : but the evil would be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant : a class of men, whose loss was felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower class. These an Union would bring over from England. They would also have capital from thence. And as to emigration, the difficulty and expence would counteract that evil. At all events, these inconveniencies would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages, which would be derived from internal security and their growing together in habits of amity and affection.

He concluded by professing himself attached to the measure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the interests of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two legislatures.

Colonel Gilbert King felt it to be the duty he owed his constituents, his country and himself to vote for the amendment and against the Union whenever it should be brought forward.

Mr. Plunket spoke with great warmth. He congratulated them on the candid avowal of the noble lord who just sat down ; he had exposed the project in its naked hideousness and deformity ; he had told them that the necessity of sacrificing their independence, flowed from the nature of their connection ; it was now avowed that the measure did not flow from any temporary cause ; that it was not produced in consequence of any late rebellion, or accidental disturbance in the country ; that its necessity did not arise from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to separate their country from Great Britain ; no, they were now informed by the noble lord, that the condition of their slavery was engrafted on the principles of their connection, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland had been doomed a dependant colony from her cradle. After that barefaced avowal, there could be little difference of opinion : He trusted that every honest man, who regarded the freedom of Ireland, or who regarded the connection with England, would by his vote on that night refute the unfounded and seditious doctrine. He had borne arms to crush the wretches who propagated the false and wicked creed, " that British con-

"pection was hostile to Irish freedom ;" and he was now called on to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble lord at the head of administration ?

The freedom of discussion, which had taken place, had given great offence to gentlemen on the treasury bench ; they were men of nice and punctilious honour, and they would not endure that any thing should be said which implied a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They threatened, said he, to take down the words of an honourable gentleman who had spoken before him, because they conveyed an insinuation : and he promised them on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, he would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. He was determined to keep his word with them : he would not insinuate, but directly assert, that base and wicked as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious and abominable ! Did they choose to take down his words ? Did they dare him to the proof ? He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the executive government in that country, a plain honest soldier, unaccustomed to and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth (*Puer ingenui vultus ingenuique pudoris*) whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence : yet was he bold to say, that during the vice-royalty, of that unspotted veteran, and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks, a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Did they choose to take down his words ? He needed to call no witnesses to their bar to prove them. He saw two right honourable gentlemen sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the crown, and who had been dismissed, because they dared to express a sentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. He saw another honourable gentleman, who had been forced to resign his place as commissioner of the revenue, because he refused to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty administration ; did they dare to deny this ? " I say that at this moment the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members, who now sit around me, in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving every thing that can be sacred or dear to man : do you desire to take down my words ? Utter the desire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that I see the necessary defeat of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means ex-

“cites: I see the protection against the wickedness of the plan, in the imbecility of its execution, and I congratulate my country, that when a design was formed against their liberties, the prosecution of it was entrusted to such hands as it is now placed in.” He then entered into a very wide range of the subject, which he most violently reprobated, and bitterly inveighed against the British minister for having acted insidiously towards his friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and distress. At a moment when Ireland was filled with British troops, where the loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue rebellion; efforts, in which they had succeeded before those troops arrived, whilst their *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended, whilst trials by court martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think, that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even the vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy: at a moment, when they were distracted by domestic dissensions: dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thralldom. He thanked administration for the measure. They were without intending it, putting an end to their dissensions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country; they had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion, not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic and the Catholic against the Protestant, not by committing the north against the south, not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices: no, but by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them, that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure; for his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence and with the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.

Mr. C. Osborne supported the Union, on the firmest conviction of its propriety and necessity to preserve the connection between both countries, and secure the tranquillity of Ireland.

The Right Honourable George Ogle execrated the principle of the Union, and would oppose it in every stage.

Mr. Hardy spoke largely for the amendment. Admitting the right of the people to call for an Union, who (he put the question), except the corporation of Cork, had asked for it? Had parliament, or either house of parliament, or any body of men whatever? Just the reverse: the most respectable public bodies, with the city of Dublin, and the law at their head, had remonstrated most strongly against it. They never had any plan or system for the government of Ireland, but consulted merely the exigence of the moment, and no more. In 1792 they supported the Protestants; at the latter end of that year, Dumourier's arms prevailed, and in the beginning of 1793, they favoured the Catholics. In 1795 they again abandoned them; and thus having gone through a variety of schemes, they came at last to the extreme bound of their policy, and proposed an Union. This, they thought, was to close all differences. Suppose it did not, and he was certain it would not, what would they propose next? A dissolution of the Union, or dragooning, or what?

Mr. Corry observed, that gentlemen were bound in common decency to consider the speech from the throne. His Majesty, from the unfortunate complexion of affairs in that country, recommended it to his parliament of Ireland to take measures for consolidating the connection between both countries, while it was in danger of being dissolved by the attempts of an invading army, and the machinations of domestic traitors.

The measure of an Union was proposed for discussion only; and though he considered it as the only means that could afford safety to Ireland, and security to the empire, yet if it should meet the disapprobation of the house, and of the people without doors, he had no hesitation in saying, that it ought to be rejected. However, surely gentlemen would give it the discussion it deserved; for a rejection *in limine* would be treating the speech from the throne with disrespect. Mr. Corry concluded with an earnest entreaty to gentlemen to consider that they were not pledged to the measure by voting the address.

Mr. Coote expressed, that warm as was the language of some gentlemen, he would not agree to record in the journals an interdict to the discussion and consideration of any union whatever with Great Britain; on the other hand, he was ready to pledge himself never to support any union which did not meet the decided approbation of parliament, and of the people. He would say nothing of the detail of the measure; but the conduct of Great Britain in the Scotch Union, assured him, that the detail would be favourable to Ireland, and that revenue would not be the object of Great Britain: it was not so in the union with Scotland, for forty years Great Britain never gained any thing from the exchequer of Scotland. The Scottish union was brought about by the Whigs of both kingdoms; and he trusted

that every man, who wished well to whiggism, would consent to the discussion of that important question; which, in his judgment, would strengthen their connection with Great Britain, and essentially consolidate the permanent interests of Ireland.

Mr. D. B. Daly said, his constituents had given in their opinion boldly, like Irishmen, determined to hazard their lives and properties in defence of the independence of the legislature of their country; and he would venture his life and property in defence of the same, in opposition to an Union.

Colonel O'Donnel (in a maiden speech) observed, had he not been determined to oppose so infamous a measure, previous to his coming down to that house, the able and spirited arguments used that night by the opposers of a Legislative Union, would make him anxious to have his name enrolled with such a glorious band of patriots. On one side he saw opposing the measure, the landed interest, the talents, and the integrity of the nation: on the other side, he beheld it supported by placemen and pensioners; few only indeed excepted. Should the legislative independence of Ireland be voted away by a parliament, which was not competent thereto, he should hold himself discharged from his allegiance; the constitution would be violated, and he would join the people in preserving their rights: he would oppose the rebels in rich clothes with as much energy, as he ever had the rebels in rags.

Mr. Mahon said he was no placeman or pensioner, but by mature consideration was convinced of the advantages, both to Ireland and Great Britain, of a Legislative Union between the two countries.

Mr. J. C. Beresford attended to the instructions of his constituents on this occasion, because they coincided with his own. He had the highest personal regard for the Noble Lord, who in his official capacity as secretary had brought forward the question, so destructive and detested by the Irish nation. He was sorry that he had been made the instrument to bring forward such a proposition. For the minister of England he entertained the highest respect. He had been ever in the habits of supporting his administration, from an approbation of his conduct, and an admiration of his abilities; but no motives of personal regard, not even to his dearest and nearest connections, could induce him to give a vote in parliament, whereby he should conceive himself accessory to the annihilation of the legislative independence of his country.

Mr. Edgeworth, in a short speech, delivered his sentiments against the measure, and concluded with approving of the amendment.

Mr. Egan went very fully into the question.

Mr. H. Osborne said a few words in support of the amendment.

Dr. A. Brown, in a very pointed manner, declared himself an irreconcilable enemy to the measure of an Union.

Mr. Ball felt confident that this unconstitutional and profligate measure would never again be propounded to the Irish parliament. Were he disposed to do so, he should find little difficulty in proving, that the evils arising from it were certain, inevitable and immediate ; such as must end, at no very remote period, in a total separation from England, or what was worse, in a regular plan of government, uniformly and systematically enforced against the will of the people by military coercion. The advantages holden out as likely to accrue from it, were not only remote and precarious, but false, imaginary, and delusive : and that even if the measure were in itself a good one, the attempt to precipitate it at a time of general commotion and public alarm, must suggest a suspicion to the nation of unfair dealing, and lay the foundation of incurable jealousies for ever.

Mr. Martin said, he perfectly agreed to every part of the address, and dissented from the amendment. An Union upon fair and equitable terms to the country he believed was the only mean between an oppressive aristocracy, and the late democratic licentiousness of the people. He was sorry he could not agree with any description of gentlemen who opposed the address. Some he could not agree with, for they did not agree with themselves ; others he had uniformly differed from ; but he differed most from them, when they opposed those measures of mercy, which were the first and propitious acts of his Excellency's government ; acts to which they owed their present existence as a nation, and which if they could add nothing to the full measure of his glory, did more to subdue the rebellion, than all their sanguinary laws, and all the permitted excesses of them, which had deluged their land in blood. The measure had the approbation of his head and heart.

Mr. Holmes also supported the original address.

Lord Corry felt it his duty to deliver his decided disapprobation of the measure as disgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every possible mischief to its constitution, commerce and manufactures ; he would therefore oppose it in every stage.

Lord Cole followed, and in a very warm manner condemned the measure, and pledged himself to oppose it in every shape.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnel never would consent to a measure, which he termed, infamous, wicked, and degrading. He denied that the constitution was an article to be bartered for ; he denied the power of parliament to barter or dispose of it, on any terms ;

and he publicly asserted, that should they ever be base enough to do so, the people would have a right to oppose it; for his part he would oppose it there and every where; if his opposition to it in that house should not be successful, he would oppose it in the field: it was no common question; it was one that went to the very existence of his country. He had made up his mind on what his conduct should be; he should either live free, or fall by the cut of some Hessian sabre, or other foreign mercenary. While he had existence he would oppose it.

Hon. Major Acheson said he would oppose the measure of a Legislative Union as derogatory from the dignity of Ireland, and would support the amendment.

Sir H. Cavendish opposed the amendment.

Mr. Massey supported the original address, and opposed the amendment.

Mr. W. G. Newcomen not having been instructed by his constituents to oppose the measure of an Union, considered himself at liberty to vote for its discussion, not pledging himself however to any future support of the question.

Hon. James Butler opposed the amendment.

Mr. Attorney General went into remote history to shew, that Ireland had formerly sent members to the English parliament; that a resident parliament was inefficient to obtain for that kingdom real legislative freedom; and that circumstanced as they were, in danger from foreign and internal foes, an incorporated Union with England was absolutely necessary for their own security and that of the empire.

Colonel Bagwell declared his sentiments to be for an Union.

Mr. Richard Dawson gave his decided disapprobation of the measure, and supported the amendment.

Mr. Saunderson, as an independent Irish country gentleman, would oppose the Union in every shape.

Mr. French observed that, scarcely allowed time to breathe after having suppressed a cruel and unnatural rebellion, they were called upon to decide on a question of unparalleled magnitude; and any decision on that great point would be, in his mind, premature, till the wishes of the great body of the people were fully and sufficiently known; without their consent either expressed or implied by their acquiescence, the legislature ought not, they had no right to make a radical change in the constitution. The people had not yet had time to make their sentiments known; some few counties had indeed instructed their representatives; the northern counties were silent; the south and west were silent. The Presbyterians in the north, and the Roman Catholics in the south and west, a numerous and respect-

able part of the community, had not yet declared their sentiments; they seemed to hold back with a respectful deference, till they should understand the subject better.

Under these circumstances, he could not approve of either the original address or the amendment; the one tended to approve of the principle of Union, and the other to preclude any discussion of the subject; he ultimately voted for the original address.

Sir Edward O'Brien declared he would oppose the measure of an Union whenever proposed, and voted for the amendment.

Mr. S. Moore supported the original address, and opposed the amendment.

Mr. R. Archdall was against the amendment, and intreated the house not to refuse their consideration of the question, and said, that for his own part, when the day for calling the house, announced by the noble lord near him, (Tyrone) should arrive, he would not be afraid to meet the proposition, and to consider it, and dispose of it, as it might deserve.

Mr. W. B. Ponsonby had no hesitation in declaring the very proposal of Union an attack on the constitution of Ireland, that argued unpardonable temerity; he would therefore oppose it in every form and stage.

Mr. Arthur Moor would not, by giving a silent vote on that important morning, (then ten o'clock) appear temporizing or lukewarm in a cause, in which he was as willing to perish as to speak; he was very personally severe on Mr. Coote, the member for Queen's County, who was supposed to have received promotion to a colonelcy on the preceding day, for voting against the instructions of his constituents. Sir John Parnell was his colleague for Queen's County, which drew more attention to the colonel's vote. He thus spoke. "But the honourable gentleman (I beg pardon of the honourable colonel) is not only determined to vote, but has ventured to speak in favour of this ruinous project, and of his own principles of action; and the honourable gentleman (I beg pardon again of the honourable colonel) asks with a voice of triumph, inspired I presume by the authority of his new command, how will gentlemen quiet the country? How will they put an end to the dissensions by which it is torn, but by the measure recommended from the throne? I will tell the honourable gentleman (I again beg pardon of the honourable colonel) I run into those mistakes from want of use, as I understand the honourable colonel's commission is no older than yesterday. I will tell the honourable colonel how the country may be quieted, and how it is possible to put an end to her dissensions, and that too by the most constitutional means; by independent men such as the ho-

“nourable colonel, not presuming, when the constitution is at stake, to disobey the instructions of their constituents; by such men as the honourable colonel, holding themselves above the allurements of office or promotion, when honest and virtuous men are removed for daring to advise and to act for the public good, and when it may be disgraceful and degrading both in point of the time and the conditions, to accept of any favour from those in power. If the representatives of the people of Ireland will act that part, the honourable colonel will then see, that he is grossly in error, when he calls the independence of Ireland a phantom.” He concluded a long and animated speech by repeating his opinion, that parliament, unless authorized by the explicit unequivocal sense of the people, had no right to consent to the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain, and that if it should adopt such a measure against the consent of the people, there was no inherent moral right in the legislature so to do, by which the nation would be bound to adopt the proceeding.

Mr. Odell opposed the amendment.

Mr. William Smith at so late an hour (then about noon) would, with a view to brevity, substitute assertion in the place of argument. As every lawyer who had risen to oppose the measure, had thought proper, at the same time, to protest against the authority of parliament to achieve it, he rose as a lawyer, to record his dissent from what he conceived to be so unfounded, and so mischievous a doctrine. He rose explicitly to declare his decided opinion, that parliament was as competent to conclude an union, as it was to enact a turnpike bill: He meant not to detract from the importance of the former great imperial arrangement, or to insinuate, that the sense of the community upon it was not deserving of their most serious attention: he meant only to assert the theoretic, constitutional competence of the Irish legislature.

Mr. Stewart, of Killymoon, declared himself in favour of Mr. Ponsonby's amendment.

Colonel Uniacke opposed the amendment, as did Mr. Staples.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley supported the address to the king in its original form.

Mr. Thomas Townsend replied to Mr. Serjeant Stanley and to Mr. William Smith. He would oppose the Union projected by every possible means: it was fatal to the liberties of Ireland. As a constitutional question it was utterly untenable, as a matter of policy it was ruinous to the peace, honour, freedom, and real interests of that kingdom as well as Great Britain.

Sir L. Parsons said that at that late hour he did not rise to speak to the question at large. The sentiment of the nation was now

so decidedly evinced, by the sense of the independent gentlemen in the house against an union, that he hoped the minister would never give him an opportunity of speaking to the subject again, but would abandon it. If however he should further persevere, Sir Lawrence would take the earliest opportunity of speaking his sentiments fully, and should now content himself with declaring his decided disapprobation of the measure.

Mr. L. Morres opposed the amendment; as did also Mr. H. D. Grady.

The honourable G. Knox said, that he should reserve himself for a full discussion of the important question in agitation, until it came more directly before the house. At present he merely rose to state, that nothing which he had heard that night, had produced the slightest alteration in the sentiments which he, in common with his constituents (the college), was known to entertain upon the subject.

Mr. G. Ponsonby replied to the principal arguments advanced from the other side of the house, and closed the longest and most interesting debate ever heard within those walls, by conjuring gentlemen not to be calculating on the probable effect of their vote, but for every man to act as if engaged in a battle, where the victory depended on his single arm; ever holding in remembrance, that conquest does not always depend on numbers; a small and virtuous band of Spartans having saved the liberties of Greece, and a gallant officer (Vereker, member for Limerick,) stopped the progress of an invader in their own country, with his small, but brave band of 200 men. He concluded by declaring, that never in the course of his life did he feel such delightful sentiments, as that moment, when he contemplated the virtue and spirit, the proud integrity displayed by the gentlemen, with whom he then had the honour of acting, and, he trusted, of closing in honest victory an honest contest. He omned great and solid, and permanent advantages and blessings to the country, from the scene, which that day and the preceding night had been displayed in the Irish House of Commons—not the “Permanent Arrangements” glanced at in the speech from the throne, but such as would, in securing the honour and independence of Ireland, contribute most effectually to the strength and glory of the empire.

The house divided,

Ayes	-	-	-	105
Noes	-	-	-	106

Majority 1

This first debate on the Union,* which afforded to the minister the unsatisfactory victory of a majority of one voice, lasted twenty-two hours : the house adjourned to ten o'clock of the morning of the 24th. During the whole of this first debate the avenues to the house were crowded with persons awaiting the result of the debate, which though the question were lost, was considered as a victory by the Anti-Unionists, and proclaimed as such by various demonstrations of joy through the metropolis. Some outrages and insults were offered to members supposed to be Unionists as they went into or came out of the house. When on the 24th of the month the address was reported, on the reading that † part of it, which related to an Union, Sir L. Parsons objected to the paragraph, as pledging the house under a metaphorical expression to admit the principle of a Legislative Union. Before 1782, when Ireland was struggling for her independency, and the English government contending against it, the consequence was, that all the principal persons in official situations at that time, by voting continually with the minister against their national claims, became so odious and were so blackened in the eyes of the people, that even after they had obtained their independency, the people could place no confidence in government composed of those men, who had so long resisted it. Sixteen years had removed many of these men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of these old conflicts : and just at the time that it might be hoped, that a government well conducted might possess the public confidence, this unfortunate measure of an Union was now brought forward, reviving political controversies, kindling anew political jealousies between the two kingdoms, and debasing and blackening all the official men in high situations here, in the opinion of the people ; for never, never could the people of Ireland place confidence in an administration, composed of men, who on this occasion had shewn

* I have been more minute in the report of this first debate, than it may be necessary in future, in order to shew the disposition, temper, and opinions of those, who opposed and who supported the measure of Union ; and also faithfully to put the reader in possession of the weight of argument on each side. It must be impartially allowed, that in this first contest, talent, energy, and independence preponderated on the side of the minority.

† This paragraph relating to the Union was as follows. " The unremitting activity, with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must constantly engage our most earnest attention ; and as your majesty has condescended to express an anxious hope, that this circumstance, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliament in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire, we shall not fail to give the fullest consideration to a communication of such momentous importance."

their promptitude to betray the dearest rights and privileges of their country. No! they were blackened and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! Yet the independent gentlemen of Ireland, in despite of all the direct and indirect means, which had been employed to pervert them on this occasion, have proved to the nation, that their present independent parliamentary constitution was dearer to them, than their lives, and that it is but with their lives that they would ever surrender it: there was not in the world a more open, warm-hearted, grateful, and unsuspecting people, than the people of Ireland. This unfortunate and ill-advised attempt, however, must destroy in them all future confidence towards the government, as long as it was constituted of those men, who on that occasion had been so forward to sacrifice the rights of their country, even though that day should put a complete termination to the fatal project; for they might rest assured, it was necessary that they should put it down decisively, otherwise that country would continue in a state of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connection between the two kingdoms. The noble lord had admitted, that Ireland must lose somewhat by the increase of absentees, but said, that loss would be counter-vailed by the number of English merchants and manufacturers that would come and settle there. He represented them immediately covering the face of the whole island, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The same had been said in the American war, when they obtained a free trade, but no Englishman came to settle there in consequence. He then replied to some other arguments raised in favour of the Union, particularly to that of the attorney general, who had said, that the parliament during the first three reigns after the establishment of the English there, sat in England, and that there was then a kind of union. If it were so, that would be of little import at the present day; the consideration being not what the constitution was then, but what it now is. He held however in his hand a decisive document against that assertion of the attorney general. It was the answer of the Irish parliament to Edward when summoned by him to England. He shewed what the constitution was, and also what the spirit was, which animated the Irish parliament at that day.

“ The nobles and commons unanimously and with one voice declared, that according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs of the land of Ireland enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any persons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or council of our lord the king in England as the writ requires. Notwithstanding on account of their reverence, and the necessity and

* present distress of the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the king, and to treat and consult with him and his council; reserving to themselves the power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies. At the same time protesting, that their compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the rights, privileges, laws, and customs, which the lords and commons from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland have enjoyed."

Thus at a time of great exigency, they consented for once to go; but knowing, that mingled with the parliament of England, they must be out-numbered; and so that great subsidies might be imposed on their own country against their consent, they previously declared, that they reserved to themselves alone the power of raising any contributions on the people; and they concluded, that their compliance on that occasion should never be brought as a precedent for any future day.

Were the Union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength there, and their own internal weakness? It was always in times of division and disaster, that a nation availed itself of the infirmities of its neighbour, to obtain an unjust dominion. That Great Britain should desire to do so, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not desire to rule another? Nor was he surprised, that there should be some among them base enough to conspire with her in doing so; for no country could expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if that assembly, the chosen protectors of the people's rights, should agree thus to betray them, that indeed would be matter of such surprise and indignation, that he wanted mind to conceive, or language to express it. So natural was it for a nation to inroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it was weakened and distressed, and so clearly was the design of England manifested by their history, English usurpations continually treading upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of those usurpations....how? by her parliament. It was her own parliament then, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms. It was there, within those walls, that this assembly, the organ of the popular bill, put forth its voice, and demanded the freedom of their constitution, and the uncontrolled, legislative, and supreme authority of the land. It was here before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the sceptre of its power, and therefore it was, that her parliament was to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again and shoot,

spread and flourish, and lest Ireland at some hallowed moment should once more through the medium of that assembly recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland; that is the cry that came across the water. Now is the time....Ireland is weak....Ireland is divided....Ireland is appalled by civil war.... Ireland is covered with troops, martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land....now is the time to put down Ireland for ever....now strike the blow....who?....is it you? Will you obey that voice? Will you betray your country?

Lord Castlereagh disclaimed any desire to re-argue the question so extensively debated on Tuesday; the object of the honourable baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the address, and to that only he would speak. What did the paragraph imply to any man, who took the pains of reading it? Nothing more than the readiness of the house to enter into the consideration of such measures as should be most likely to consolidate the strength of the empire. Could any man deny, that that was a desirable object? or could any man expect, that such a metaphorical expression would be laid hold of to imply, that by it that house was specifically pledged to the measure of an Union? It was urged, that the person representing government in that house had not declared positively to the house, that he would not again bring forward the question that session. Could that be a motive for refusing assent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that person? that he would look to the sense of parliament and of the nation; and give it its fair weight, in the prudent consideration of re-agitating the question. But convinced, as he was, that the measure was one of great and important advantage, he would never lose sight of it; and if he felt, that conviction, he should desert, basely desert his duty, were he influenced by clamour to abandon it. He had not pledged himself to renounce it for the session; but he was pledged by a stronger tie; his attention to the opinion of parliament and the country; had it been necessary to bind him by such a promise, had he been such a person as nothing but an extorted consent could bind, how easy would it be for the minister to elude such a promise? how easily, if the sense of the country should change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to that session, and propose the measure in a new one? Was the parliament so distrustful of itself as to find such a promise necessary? Was it so afraid of the change of sentiment in the country, as to wish to tie up its own hands against the measure? If it were so, might not such a parliament be sent back to its constituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itself by a resolution, which might render it necessarily regardless of the voice and interest of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of dismissing from immediate discussion any measure proposed, but it could not exclude

future discussion ; it was the duty of the minister to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage ; by the constitution, he could not be precluded from proposing such measures ; it was his imperative duty, which he must discharge. Had such been the opinion, or such the rule of parliament, they would not have the British constitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exercise of duty, they would not enjoy that constitution : for by the British constitution the origination of great national measures was placed in the crown. Had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to resist even the investigation of such measures, would that constitution have been what it is ? Were a British minister to be influenced by *Round Robins* and cabals, by combinations, to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their professional labours, the British empire would not be in the glorious situation, in which it then stood. If this country, said his lordship, be to be governed by combination, it was brought to absolute ruin. Government had been charged with dismissing its servants for political opinions. It was the right and privilege of government to do so. If the minister must retain those persons, who are hostile to his measures, because such is the will of a faction, the constitutional power of the crown, and with it the constitution itself were at an end. What kind of an opposition had been arranged against the measure ? Some of the very men, who, by attempting to degrade and vilify parliament, had given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the last words of the person now most forward, upon his seceding from the house ? “ That the parliament was so lost to every constitutional principle, that he was ashamed to continue to sit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty : ” this was his last expression. What was the last effort of his public life ? To assimilate the parliament of Ireland to the government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and by a system of representation which had destroyed France, to introduce anarchy and massacre into that country. After failing in this project from the spirit and good sense of parliament, did he not shrink from the contest excited by his own principles and his own example ? Had the loyal gentlemen, who now strangely voted with him and his party, so forgotten all these circumstances ; had they so lost the recollection of those calamities, that they could look to him and his friends with confidence for the future government of that country ? It was impossible. The phrenzy of a moment might have seduced them into such strange company ; their returning good sense would permit them to look upon it as it deserved. Another description of the opponents of that measure was of a very opposite kind indeed to that person and his friends. They

were the men, who, in the time of danger, stood forward like men to rescue their country from the consequences produced by those who were their allies. But those men never could so far forget the common object....the connection with Great Britain (for which both sides were labouring, though with different opinions as to means), so far to disgrace themselves by acting with those, who wished to debase parliament and destroy their constitution. Let those loyal gentlemen assure themselves that they could never raise those persons to their own proud rank, though they might unhappily degrade themselves to their level. Let them not be so hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea, that because they happened to agree in that one point, a common co-operation with their enemies was necessary. Let them not be imposed upon by the artifice of these insinuations, that the measure was to be carried by a military force; it was a fraud practised upon their honesty; it would be a wretched government indeed, which would destroy the attached adherents of monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any measure, however advantageous in prospect. Resolved as he was, never to be deterred by cabal from offering any measure to the discussion of parliament, he never could embark in so absurd a scheme as to conceive it possible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any measure whatever. There had been in the course of debate insinuations of a general nature; that ministry had employed illicit means to secure support: he passed them by as they deserved with contempt; but he had also heard particular circumstances mentioned, as facts, of so base and false a tenor, that he would trace them to the individual, be he who he might, from whom they originated, and force him to make a public disavowal. He deprecated that species of equivocal language which was neither personal, nor altogether parliamentary. If gentlemen conceived that any man on that side of the house had done them personal injury, let them come forward and seek redress like men. If they wished to enter into personal contest, let them avow their wish and come forward like men; but let them not resort to that kind of language, which was just so far short of personal offence, as to shelter them from personal chastisement; let them not disgrace parliament by introducing that which had proved so fatal to the country....angry invective and illiberal personality.

Mr. G. Ponsonby in a spirited reply defended the Anti-unionists against the violent attack of the minister, and asserted the uprightness of their conduct. Did he imagine the country gentlemen of Ireland tame enough to bear the imputation of being fools....instruments that were used by a few factious men for the worst of purposes? Would they submit to such a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to shield him from

their contempt, but the office which he abused? Of what men was the body, which opposed the minister on this subject, constituted? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found among them. But was the constitution of Ireland to be surrendered, because there was a difference of opinion on some questions between those who were unanimous on that?*

The noble lord said, he would not now push the measure; but he declared at the same time, that he would never lose sight of it. No thanks to the noble lord for not pushing it now, for he could not carry it. Thanks to the cabal; thanks to the virtue and spirit, which had appeared both in and out of parliament. But let the spirit of the house or of the country slumber, and then he knew from experience what use the noble lord would make of the favour of the crown to force the measure on the country. Even then, he believed the attempt would be unsuccessful; but he would not leave it in the power of the noble lord to practise again in support of the measure those unconstitutional arts which he knew he had practised.

Hon. D. Browne and Counsellor J. Beresford supported the address: the latter particularly deprecated that kind of imputation coming from gentlemen, who opposed ministers on the last night's debate, charging on gentlemen that supported them on the principle of Union, the influence of private interest or corrupt motives. He spurned such language with indignation; there was at least as much honour, as much patriotism and independent principle amongst those who supported, as amongst those who opposed the principle of an Union.

Mr. Martin spoke at large to the subject, and also in support of the address. He observed, amongst many pointed remarks, that many of the great borough proprietors were against this measure; and had they no interest in opposing it? Was it nothing to weigh in golden scales the fate of every administra-

* He then made a moving apostrophe to the speaker. "You, Mr. Speaker, are of that number....and, no doubt, it is the weakness of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party....or it is its factious disposition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the cabals and round robins, of which the noble lord speaks? Is it in that profession, which is truly called the first profession in the country; and in which are to be found men, to whom compared the noble lord; in every point of view, is but a puny child? That profession have this day declared unanimously, that they will not accept of the office from which a right honourable gentleman near him was dismissed, because he would not submit his understanding and his conscience to the will of the noble lord. Was that the result of interested faction? Had they been hunting for places, from which the intemperate folly of the noble lord had displaced the old and faithful servants of the crown, his charge would have been founded; but acting as they have done, what honest man but must feel indignation at the aspersions which are wantonly thrown on them."

tion coming into that country? Was it no power to be able to abuse power, to expel two lord lieutenants for endeavouring to rescue the constitution, and turn to flight one commander in chief, Sir R. Abercrombie, who never fled in battle, because he differed from them; because he said the discipline in the army was relaxed? He disapproved of burning houses and of free quarters; and the borough proprietors chose to have both. Were these matters of fact? If so, they would recur frequently, and the nation could no longer exist. But it was said Union was unpopular; that was no argument, unless after due consideration it should continue to be so. The best measures were at first unpopular. The Octennial bill was in that house unpopular. The administration of the country once offered to support a tax upon absentees; that measure was opposed and lost; and some of those very gentlemen, who but a session ago opposed a measure, that would bring home our absentees, now principally clamoured against the Union on the ground that it would occasion some absentees. Another measure was greatly unpopular in the nation, which originated in the Duke of Portland's administration; fencible regiments for protection of the country.

Mr. Dobbs, after having vindicated the Irish bar from the attack of the right honourable secretary, and disclaimed all personalities, congratulated the house upon the return of some patriotic spirit and energy, and remarked, that if there were three men upon earth, to whom Ireland was peculiarly indebted, they were Mr. Pitt, the noble lord who was first minister there, and the author of that pamphlet which issued from, and was acknowledged by the castle. Sir, till then, it was only suspicion, that a plan had been formed, to reduce Ireland into the situation of a province. But from the declarations of the three he had alluded to, suspicion terminated in certainty; for the noble lord had in his place declared, that it was a measure that would never be lost sight of, till it was carried. Then they had full notice of British intention and British determination. It had been holden out in the pamphlet alluded to, that a Union should be accompanied with certain benefits to the Catholics, to the Dissenters, and to the people at large. Why should they allow England to purchase their people by favours, which they had equally the power to bestow? It was their duty to shew to the people, that they had been vilified and abused by the author of the castle pamphlet; and that they were the true and legitimate guardians of Irish happiness, Irish prosperity, and Irish liberty.

The present attempt would never have been made, were the people of this country united in affection to each other, and at the same time satisfied with their government. What then was

the path they were to pursue? Decidedly this ; to carefully examine the sources of discontent, and dissatisfaction, and do them away. He would not at that moment take upon him to say, what it was they ought to do ; but he asserted without hesitation, that they should give to the people every thing, that was consistent with the preservation of their present constitution, and their present connection with Great Britain. Those were the only boundaries that he drew between what the people could demand, and what the Irish legislature could bestow.

Mr. Holmes was in favour of the address.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnel opened a long speech with an invective against his colleague for the county of Mayo, Mr. Cuff (now Lord Tyrawley), whom he charged with having misrepresented the instructions of his constituents, and then read, from the debate on the Irish propositions, what that right honourable gentleman had said : " But, Sir, this arrangement has suggested " an idea in another country, that I am afraid to mention in this " house ; I mean a Union. Good God, Sir, what Union could " we have with Great Britain, but a Union of debt and taxation ! A Union depriving us of liberty, and ruinous to our " country." Those expressions reflected on him then immortal honour, but now eternal disgrace. He then addressed himself to the noble lord. He had endeavoured to oppose that measure without being personal, he respected his private character, he was an avowed friend to the administration, in which he held so ostensible and so honourable a situation. It was more than probable, that on every other question he would have his support. He belonged to no party, to no cabal, nor any intrigue, nor was a dupe. He intreated the noble lord, as he valued the peace and happiness of his country, every thing dear to him as a minister and a man, candidly and avowedly to come forward and declare he abandoned and wholly gave up a measure, so opposite to the wishes and interests of that kingdom ; that he would not keep it suspended over their heads, to keep alive the fermentation of the public mind, which had it not been for that measure would have now been quieted. He invoked him not to keep that odious detested measure suspended over their heads by a single hair, to be cut at his will or that of any other minister.

Lord Castlereagh explained, and assured the right honourable member, nothing was farther from his wishes than to throw any aspersions on the profession. In the course of his speech he had used the word *petty-fogging*, but not in application to the bar ; it was a vulgar phrase, and he was ashamed of it.

Mr. Edgeworth also vindicated the profession, which he could not help saying, had not been well *treated by the noble lord. It was peculiarly proper in that noble lord to inculcate temper into the house, but it was improper in him to have forgotten his own precept, and set an example of heat and violence. He confessed, that when first the measure of an Union was mentioned, he was a friend to it; but when he found the sense of the nation against it, he changed his determination. He did not mean to catch at the word *cabal*, for the country gentlemen of Ireland ought not to follow the example of intemperance and indiscretion, which the noble lord had set them; if the minister were determined to press that measure against their sense and that of the country, he hoped these gentlemen would unite against him and form one body, and then they would be able effectually to frustrate any attempt of his, or of any cabal of pensioners and placemen.

A really wise administration would have seized that crisis to tranquillize the country. When the vessel of the state made no way, it would not answer to the helm; when it was in rapid motion, it would steer, and might by a skilful pilot be at length conducted to security. An able minister might, by a prudent use of that happy opportunity, reconcile the dissensions of the country, and make Irishmen shake hands with Irishmen.

Sir Boyle Roche considered faction as the source of past, and the seeds of present dissension in the country; nothing could effectually eradicate it but an Union, which had his most cordial concurrence.

Mr. St. George Daly warmly resented the insinuations thrown out against the motives of gentlemen on his side of the house; he despised them; one gentleman had said he just came from a meeting of the bar, who voted thanks, and resolved to give precedence to a right honourable gentleman, who had been dismissed from office; that might have been proper, but the honourable gentleman went farther, and said they were ready to declare any man a traitor to his country, who should accept the office. This produced some warm altercation between Mr. Daly and Mr. Ponsonby, which ended in an explanation from the latter.

* The expression which he repeated, in order to give the noble lord an opportunity to recal it (for he could not conceive, that with so many law officers near him he meant to insult the profession), was the phrase ...*Round Robin*; which meant a mutinous demand made by men ashamed to avow themselves the promoters of it. Did the noble lord believe, that any of the gentlemen to whom he alluded, were ashamed to avow themselves? The meeting was conducted by a gentleman who was the father of the bar; was not he an ostensible patron of the measure, which they had adopted? Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to say many handsome things of the profession, to which he avowed himself to have been bred.

Sir J. Blaquiére had thought the question was at rest. This attempt to keep the subject alive could arise only from desperate faction, which wished to wear gentlemen out by debate. He did not foresee, he confessed, that so many country gentlemen would have opposed the measure.

Sir J. Parnell said, that from the refusal of the noble lord to declare that he would not again propose the measure, because if he did make such promise he could not bind the parliament, he inferred that he would again press it when an occasion offered; and when the noble lord talked of people deciding on what they did not understand, because they declared against an Union without knowing the terms, he used the language of a man himself ignorant of what was the true state of the question. No man could be so silly as not to know what the question really was.

Mr. Trench still wished to keep the question open for discussion, though he certainly had changed his mind as to the means of effecting the desired object.

The city of Dublin had declared its sentiments unequivocally; but though he highly respected that city, yet Dublin was not all Ireland, nor was Ireland the whole of the British empire; and in the fate of the British empire was involved that of the civilized world. As Irishmen, their first duty was to consult the welfare of Ireland. The Roman Catholics of that kingdom had not yet declared their sentiments; and notwithstanding the outrages that had lately disgraced some of that persuasion, the great body of them were loyal subjects; and their opinion ought to have weight with the legislature. If many of them had been concerned in the late rebellion, it was not because they were Roman Catholics, but because they were ignorant and uninformed, and therefore liable to be deluded by the misrepresentations of artful leaders. The reports of the secret committees of both houses had proved this fact; the great volume of events had proved it: that volume so lately unfolded to their view, and which every day, nay every hour, continued to develop. The late rebellion was not a war of one sect of Christianity against another. Whether British connection could be best secured by an incorporating Union, or by any other means, he only wished to have the question fully and fairly discussed.

Colonel Fitzgerald supported the paragraph, as did Mr. H. D. Grady. Mr. Fitzgerald called upon Lord Castlereagh for an apology for what he had said of the gentlemen of the bar.

Mr. William Smith declared against expunging the paragraph which recommended Union; and avowed his opinion, that legislative incorporation would not merely be beneficial, but had become necessary for Ireland, and the empire. This gentleman

handled the subject with more ability and depth of knowledge and information, than any one on the Treasury Bench.

As the British islands constituted one empire, their imperial Union was not the mere result of a temporary and accidental union of their crowns on the same head. The crowns were constitutionally blended: his majesty's being king of Great Britain was the *sine qua non*, and efficient cause, of his being king of Ireland: he was their monarch *ipso facto* of his being the sovereign of the sister kingdom; and to deny (or at least to act on such denial) the truth of that position, would be treason against the principles of the Irish constitution.

So far then as a legislative Union allotted a single legislature to a single empire, it was a rational and wholesome measure; so far as it provided, that one empire should no longer be exposed to the risk of wavering, languidly and inertly, between the dissentient systems of two parliaments, Union was the corrective of a dangerous anomaly. A difference of opinion or system, between the two legislatures, must paralyse the general force of the empire; and that as well the more vaguely malcontent, as the direct enemies of the connection might (the former inadvertently, the latter by design) make that legislative distinctness, the means for bringing about a separation.

As far as the tendency of Union went to limit the British empire to one legislature, its operation would be to fortify that empire, and eradicate those seeds of separation which it contained: and this tendency would, on one hand, raise an enemy to the measure in every foe to British greatness, and British connection; and, on the other, recommend Union to the favour of all those, who thought British connection salutary, and wished it to be secured; and who, maintaining, as a maxim, that Ireland must stand and fall with England, felt themselves interested at all times to aggrandize the force of the empire, and felt themselves especially called upon to do so, when the state of opinions and of things throughout the world, and when the power, and success, and hostile dispositions of France, rendered it necessary that the British empire should concentrate all its strength, or surrender all its honours.

Some might reply, that British influence would operate as an antidote to the mischiefs apprehended, and would prevent legislative dissensions from weakening and tearing asunder the energies of the empire, or Irish independence from checking the views or injuring the interests of Britain. But that supposition, he thought, insultingly derogated from the practical independence of the Irish parliament, which was thus allowed to be subordinate to that of Great Britain. Where an actual subjection thus existed, it might be rendered only the more mischievous and oppressive, by being concealed behind a mask of nominal

independence ; and the desired antidote would be more effectually found in an union than in a division of legislatures. To an objection, that the paucity of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament would leave that country at the mercy of Britain, he replied, that the Irish representation would be commensurate to Irish power, resources, and contribution, and that an unity of interest would secure the rights and the welfare of every part of the empire, it would also be now preferable, after Ireland had long possessed a distinct parliament. By obtaining an Union upon just and equitable terms, she would exchange her separate legislature for such an efficient share in the imperial councils, as would ensure a full participation in the benefits of the British constitution ; and she would thus gain all that she would originally have been entitled to demand.

“ But (said he) we sacrifice a portion of our national splendour : I admit it ; and make the sacrifice with regret ; I allow for, I almost rejoice and triumph at that repugnance with which this measure is at first received : I agree with those who consider national pride and honour as some security for national valour, liberty and virtue. But let us look to our country, torn with conflicts, and stained with blood ; let us turn our eyes inwards to the traitors and separatists who swarm amongst us ; let us contemplate the state of Europe, and of the world, and then enquire, whether it may not be expedient to sacrifice somewhat of our dignity, and exchange our situation for one, which will secure and strengthen our connection with Great Britain, at a time when this connection is at once peculiarly necessary and precarious, which will fortify that empire, of which we make a part ; whose ruin is attempted, and whose destruction must be ours : a situation which will secure to us the British constitution, with all those benefits which that admirable system involves.”

In support of his opinion of the mischiefs of a double legislature, he instanced the case of the regency, when the lords and commons of Ireland having nominated a regent for that kingdom, intrusted to him a degree of authority different from, and superior to that, which the British regent would have possessed. This practical assertion of legislative independence tended, he said, to produce two independent executives for one empire : it risked intrusting the executive authority to different hands, and set different limits, in each island, to its power. Did not this act tend to dismember the empire ? The king of England being, *ipso facto* and necessarily, king of Ireland, not only the regent of one realm ought to be regent of the other, but the prerogative of the executive magistrate ought to have precisely the

same limits in both countries. The Irish houses of parliament, therefore violated at that time the spirit of a fundamental maxim of the constitution. It would not be sufficient to say, that the recurrence of that evil might be prevented by a particular statute relative to a state of regency. A mere remedy for a particular mischief would not be generally satisfactory. The source being copious enough to be the parent of many mischiefs, it was highly expedient that it should be completely dried up. The affair of the commercial propositions might be adduced as another example of the ill effect of legislative distinctness. In consideration of commercial advantages which were to be granted to the Irish, the legislature of Great Britain required that the parliament of the sister kingdom should adopt such laws as might be prescribed to it for the regulation of certain branches of trade and points of navigation. But the offer was rejected, chiefly on account of that demand; and thus legislative distinctness obstructed the prosperity of Ireland, by dissuading her from an acceptance of considerable benefits on the only terms, on which Britain could be expected to concede them. The idea of reform suggested another possible mischief. If one of the proposed plans of radical reform had been adopted by the Irish House of Commons, the legislature would have been differently constituted from that of Britain; the influence or prerogative of the sovereign would have been different from that, which he possessed in England, and the change would have tended to separate the two countries.

Of the competency of parliament to the enactment of such reform he had never heard any doubts expressed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered against the alleged right were inconclusive, yet perhaps as plausible as any that could be urged against the competency of the legislature to a decree of Union. That the authority of the parliament had this extent, he had not the slightest doubt. His opinion, he said, was founded on precedent, on the mischiefs which would result from a contrary doctrine, on the express authority of constitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the constitution itself. By enacting an union, parliament would do no more than change (it would not surrender or subvert) the constitution. Ireland, after a legislative incorporation, would still be governed by three estates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the legislature could new model the succession to the crown, or change the established religion, it might certainly ordain those alterations which an union would involve. To controvert its right, would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. On the legitimacy of that act depended the title of his majesty to the

united kingdom, to the crown of the united kingdom; for the 2d article of the agreement was the only act of settlement that limited to the house of Hanover in repugnance to the strict hereditary principle of the Scottish constitution, the succession to that united monarchy, which the first article had created. He instanced many mischiefs, which in that supposition would attend the impeachment of the Scottish union.

But should the future imperial parliament be supreme, might it not "abrogate" the treaty of union, and repeal all the benefits which its articles concede to Ireland?

Undoubtedly, that absolute power which the constitution of these kingdoms intrusted to parliament, would have that physical extent. A parliament may at any time abuse its sovereign authority; but it does so at the risk of entitling the subject to throw off that government, which has become an instrument of oppression, and recur to first principles, to resistance, and insurrection. Parliamentary authority has no limits known to the constitution: by the principles of that constitution it is boundless; but it is exercised at the peril of those, to whom it is intrusted; and they will be cautious how they commit that extreme abuse, which will constructively subvert the constitution, efface all artificial regulations, and letting in the paramount rights of human nature, overwhelm the powers of parliament in revolution. At this risk, the Imperial legislature might at any time disregard and repeal the articles of union: but in the danger of the attempt was the great security against its being made. The Imperial legislature might be competent to disfranchise Wales or Yorkshire, or to violate the terms, on which the sister countries became united; but there appeared no moral possibility of their applying their absolute authority to such purposes.

In treating of the principle of parliamentary competence, he affirmed, that in all governments an absolute despotic power must be inherent, as, without it, disorder and confusion would prevail. This power, according to the British system, was lodged in the king, the nobles, and the people acting by their representatives in parliament. In its own nature, it would authorize those who lawfully enjoyed it, not merely to frame new laws under the constitution, but to adapt the government to contingent events and occasional circumstances, and attend with suitable provisions the successive changes of powers and interests, manners and opinions. On this ground, the proposed union was within the reasonable compass of parliamentary authority.

If he conceived that the measure would be a surrender of national independence, he would by no means agree to it;

but it would merely be an incorporation of national distinctness: nor would he promote the scheme, if he thought that it would not ensure an identity or community of interests.

The constitution admits the principle of self correction; steady to its objects, which are freedom and good order, it pursues the path which the period supplies for their attainment; and possesses, in the boundless competence of its legislature, the means, as it rolls its blessings through ages to posterity, of peaceably and imperceptibly adapting itself to circumstances as they arise; of attending with suitable provisions, the successive changes of powers and interests, manners and opinions, and of keeping pace with time, by safe and gradual innovation. There would rest the great security under an imperial parliament.

Distinguishable as the cases were, some strong resemblances between that of Scotland and Ireland were to be traced. There, according to De Foe, a strange and motley coalition of discordant factions formed the anti-union band.

There, in aid of parliamentary exertions, they studied to raise a storm without doors, for "the purpose of intimidation. Addresses against the union were sent round all the counties, in which those who opposed it had any interest. There came up many of these in the names of counties, boroughs, &c. This made some noise abroad; but was very little considered there, when it was known by what arts and practices they were procured." Tindal gives the common principle and motive, which consolidated these various parties upon this occasion: "All those who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite interest, opposed every step that was made towards an union, with great vehemence: Why? because they saw that it struck at the root of all their designs for a new revolution." He remarked how closely those circumstances followed the case of Ireland. The party, however, was discomfited in Scotland, by the exertions of a small band of unpopular, yet acknowledged patriots, who supporting on principle the measure of a ministry, to which they were hostile, turned the balance, and carried an union, which was not now denied to have been advantageous to Scotland. The learned member next recurred to Adam Smith's position, that union may soften the rigours of religious prejudice and distinction, and blend the inhabitants of Ireland into one people.

It was impossible to advert to this consideration, without, at the same time, raising to our view the Roman Catholic body, their situation, their numbers, and their demands.

The claims of that great body of the Irish people were undoubtedly supportable on sound constitutional principles. For instance: it was the spirit of the constitution, that the house of

commons should be the representative of the combined property and population of the kingdom, that a certain stake in the country should give to the holder the elective franchise ; and that he should be at liberty to exercise it, by nominating what representative he pleased. On the case of the Catholics, that principle operated only in its first branch. Catholic freeholders might elect, but not whom they pleased : for they must not nominate Catholic representatives : they were prohibited from entrusting their interests to those, who might seem most likely zealously to protect them. But parliament was open to the Catholic, on the term of his taking certain oaths ; that is to say, on condition that he abjured his religion.

It might, however, be said, that these incapacities were indispensable towards the protection of the established church.... perhaps they were : it would then be irrelevant to discuss that question.

But if those disqualifications were thus necessary in their present state, Catholics need not be very averse from changing the situation, which gives birth to that necessity. The real friend to the Protestant religion would rest his opposition to Catholic claims, on the sole ground of their being inconsistent with the security of the established church : and therefore, so soon as these claims become compatible with that security, the opposition of such a man would cease. Thus union might stand recommended to Catholics, as tending to improve their prospects, and yet not be the more objectionable to Protestants on that account. For how would it improve the Catholic view, if at all, by removing that danger to Protestantism, which might at present seem to attend a compliance with their desires ? The opponent of Catholic demands alleged that, considering their superiority in point of number to the Protestants, to give them a nominal equality, might be to bestow on them an actual superiority of political power.

But how would the case stand upon an union ? The Catholics, would, undoubtedly, in Ireland, exceed the Protestants, exactly as they do at present. But in the one united kingdom, (of incorporated Britain and Ireland) the Protestants would, as they do at present, greatly exceed the Catholics. What would follow ? That to make these latter nominally equal to the Protestants, would not give them an actually equal, much less a predominant weight in the empire.

Thus, on the one hand, every satisfied Catholic individual might be permitted to indulge the honest pride of feeling himself on a par with his Protestant brother ; and possessing capacity for an equal share, not only in the benefits, but the honours of the constitution ; whilst, on the other hand, the Protestant

body, superior in number, and consequently possessed of the greater portion of those capacities which they were able to obtain complete security for their religion, without wounding, degrading, or alienating the Catholic subject. They would feel what in Ireland cannot be felt at present, that the popular religion was the religion of the state.

After the union, the great mass of the united legislature would be Protestant. How impotent then would be the anti-supremacy of a Catholic minority ! Union, then, might improve the Catholics views, without alarming the Protestants, by rendering their importance quite compatible with the safety of the established church.

There must be something radically faulty in that state of things, which, founded on the even moderate depression of three-fourths of the population, the safety of the remaining fourth. It was the manly spirit of that British constitution, beneath which, after union, they would live, that the great body of the people would not only be secure and free, but respectable and proud. If the present distinctness of Ireland render Catholics the necessary victims of an exception to that rule, it was to be reprobated. He then adverted to a letter, which the late Mr. Burke had written to him four years before, on the Catholic emancipation ; the necessity for interesting as many classes of the people as possible in the conservation of the present political establishment, and thus administering an antidote to Jacobinical poison, formed the hinge, on which all the arguments of that great man, in support of the Catholic demands, turned. Would to God that those principles had been acted on !....if not in granting the Catholic requests, yet in doing graciously, what they felt compelled to do in tempering theoretic, and political depression, with practical cordiality and encouragement. Would to God that Catholics had not lost the memory of what had been granted, in the angry wish for what was withholden ! nor polluted their pretensions, by the advocations of notorious separatists and traitors !.....that Protestant ascendancy (which he trusted would ever be maintained) had never been abused, nor in any case degenerated into bigotry and faction !....that opposite parties had not vied with each other in civil rage, and supplied by their distractions so many arguments for union ! Would to God that the late gloomy aspect of affairs did not furnish a verifying comment on the prediction of Adam Smith, that, without an union, the inhabitants of Ireland would never consider themselves as one people ! But suppose the claims of the Catholics should fail of success, though submitted to the remote and unprejudiced tribunal of an imperial parliament, does it follow that union would injure the Catholics ? Clearly not : it

would but leave them where they were; unless they conceive that the same demands made at home, on less favourable grounds, and with more jealousies in array against them, would yet have a greater likelihood of success. Nay, farther, though their claims should be rejected by the united legislature, their situation would be better by an union. Union might practically improve the situation of the Catholics, though it should leave them, in point of theory, where they were. Protestant ascendancy standing, after the union, (as it must do) on an impregnable foundation, would not need to be propped by favours and distinctions, which now exalted the Protestant at the expence of the Catholic feeling. The same security would assuage the Protestant mind, would heal his jealousies and apprehensions, and make him more susceptible of cordiality to his Catholic brother. Terror and suspicion were the usual parents of oppression.

If Union promote the wealth and trade of Ireland, it must practically increase the comfort and consequence of the Catholics, who composed the majority of Irish population. If Union practically exclude many Protestants from that political importance, which the existing state of things permits them to enjoy, (and doubtless Union would abridge the consequence of some, and greatly interfere with the ambitious views of many, as perhaps the opponents of the measure need not to be informed;) then Catholics might sit down the more contentedly under the exclusion, to which the theory of the establishment had condemned them. If to see their Protestant brethren enjoying under their eye those honours of the constitution, from which they were excluded, were grating to the Catholic mind, that was a mortification, from which Union would relieve them.

The pre-eminence of the resident aristocracy, being founded on political distinctions, was one, in which the Catholic body could not share. After Union, the consequence of the aristocracy would be founded on those distinctions of birth and fortune, which were as attainable by those of one religion, as the other. He concluded his appeal, not to the authority, but to the good sense of his countrymen: an appeal to the people, not from the opinion of their parliament, which was conclusive, but from the dogmatic clamour of an interested multitude, which, whilst it bellowed against Union, miscalled itself the public: an appeal to the virtuous and orderly inhabitants of Ireland, to discountenance the insidious practices of those, who were themselves creating the national ferment, which they affected to attribute to the discussion of a measure, that they therefore deprecated; and were whetting popular resentment, as a weapon, which they might use in defending their private interest against the public weal. They were not destitute of spirits such as those

which, in 1707, animated the rabble of Edinburgh against their legislature : *non desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos, atque intemperantes plebiorum animos, ad sanguinem et cades irritent.* It was the duty of all good men to combine to defeat such mischievous designs, and make particular ambition sink before the general prosperity of Ireland.

Let the honest and independent country gentlemen come forward. They formed a party, which had lately not holden the place it ought to have done in that kingdom : they were disinterested, or had no interests, which were distinct from those of Ireland. On them, on their virtue, good sense, and dispassionate enquiry, he looked upon the happiness of his country to depend. He did not call upon them to vote for Union. No; but to hear the question before they should decide. He called on them to stop short before they reached the brink of a precipice, to which they might at once be hurried by their own proud and ungenerous feelings, and be pushed by the insidious projects of the factious and the selfish.

The question was not, whether they should surrender the liberties of the country? what minister would dare propose such a question to parliament, or to the nation? The question was, whether Union might not so modify their constitution, as to promote prosperity and peace, whilst it left their liberties, not only unimpaired, but better secured?

Whether Union would not fortify, not merely England, but that empire, of which Ireland made a part; whose safety was menaced, and whose destruction she could not survive?

Whether it would not silence internal jealousy and dissension; establish their religion firmly; conciliate their Catholic brethren, and consolidate their people?

Whether it would not at once bestow upon them commercial advantages, and enable them to use them? Whether it would not establish among them that respectable and industrious order of men, which was the boast of the sister country, and the want of Ireland?

Whether, at the same time that it gave them an efficient weight in the imperial councils, it would not still more secure their welfare, by entangling their interests, so obviously and inextricably, with those of Britain, that all grudging policy, all narrow jealousy of Irish advancement, if it ever existed, must have an end?

Whether, by disarming separatists of those instruments, which they then possessed, towards severing the kingdoms, it would not render it injurious to Britain to retard Irish aggrandizement, and make it folly for her to view the advancement of that country with apprehension?

Whether the alternative of Union, or separation, be not offered to them, as explicitly as they need wish it to be? and whether they ought to hesitate in their choice?

Whether separation from England be not subjection to France? If so, he called upon all good men to turn a reluctant eye on the horrors, which had disfigured that at once formidable and wretched country, and to shudder at the prospect, which that suggestion disclosed.

Whether many objections to Union, which were loudly urged, were not such as the terms might easily obviate, and which were then therefore premature?

Whether, if legislative incorporation tend to fortify the empire, Great Britain be not likely to purchase that imperial strength, by the most ample and liberal concessions, in point of terms?

Whether two legislatures in one empire did not tend to disunite? and whether experience have not alarmingly reduced that theory to practice?

Whether the testimony of all, who oppose an Union, be so disinterested as to deserve implicit credit?

Whether the example of Scotland have not proved, that faction, not patriotism, may vehemently oppose an Union? That integrity and public spirit might vote for whatever sacrifice the measure involved? And finally, that time may sanction such a step, by shewing legislative incorporation to be the base of national prosperity?

Whether their situation were not such, as to require some radical and tranquil change?

He declared himself to be deaf to clamour, obstinate to intimidation, but open to reason, ever preferring to retract than persist in error.

It was his deliberate opinion, that a legislative Union with Great Britain would save Ireland, if obtained on those fair terms, which he thought likely to be conceded.

Mr. Egan attempted to answer Mr. W. Smith. No legislature, he said, had a right to vote away its existence, and ridiculed the pretended advantages of an Union.

Dr. Arthur Browne warmly opposed the Union.

Mr. Corry having complimented Mr. Smith, and censured his two opponents, spoke of the settlement of 1782, and denied that the measure then proposed involved a dereliction of the points gained by Ireland at that time. He also argued, that any amendment or vote, by which the house should declare, that it would never enter into the consideration of a certain subject, would be an unconstitutional infringement of the rights of

the two other branches of the legislature....of the crown, which had a right to suggest, and of the peers, who had a right of discussion.

Mr. Arthur Moore expatiated much at large on the impolicy of an Union, and strongly condemned it on various grounds; as did Colonel Vereker, Sir John Freke, and some others.

On a division the Anti-Unionists prevailed; 111 voted for the rejection of the contested paragraph, and 106 for its continuance. Mr. Ponsonby then proposed an amendment similar to his former motion; but, as it was deemed unnecessary, he consented to withdraw it.

The public exultation rose to a great height on this defeat of the ministry. The Unionists were insulted by the lower classes of the people, and the public prints joined in the clamour.

The popular journals were lavish in their panegyrics of the Anti-Unionists: printed lists of the voters were circulated about gratis amongst the people, in order, as the superscription imported, that they might know their glorious and virtuous defenders, that every honest man might engrave their names and their services on his heart, and hand them down to his children's children.*

So sanguine was the British minister in his expectation of success, in carrying the measure of Union, that he did not think it advisable to await the result of the deliberations of the Irish senate upon it; but presuming on his strength in the Irish as much as in the British houses of parliament, he opened his plan of operations in both on the same day: accordingly on the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the sovereign was delivered to the British peers by Lord Grenville, recommending an Union in the following terms.

“ His majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry,
 “ with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of
 “ effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot
 “ fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his
 “ majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most
 “ effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this de-
 “ sign: and he trusts, that a review of all the circumstances which
 “ have recently occurred (joined to the sentiments of mutual
 “ affection and common interest) will dispose the parliaments of
 “ both kingdoms to provide, in the manner, which they shall
 “ judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final ad-
 “ justment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a con-

* This list is to be seen in Appendix, No. CXVI.

“ nection essential to their common security, and to augment
“ and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the Bri-
“ tish empire.”

This message having been read, Lord Grenville proposed, that it should be taken into consideration on the ensuing day, and the lords summoned, to which the house agreed.

A similar message, on the same day, was presented to the commons by Mr. Dundas, who moved, that it should be considered on the morrow. Mr. Sheridan immediately rose, and while he declared his concurrence in the general sentiments which the message conveyed, he thought it but fair thus to give early notice, that he viewed the bringing forward of that question, at that time, as a measure replete with so much mischief, that he held it his duty to take the first opportunity to do every thing in his power to arrest the farther progress of it. He was convinced, that it was the common feeling in and out of that house, to adopt every measure that might tend to perpetuate and strengthen the connection between the two countries; because all were convinced, that a separation would not only injure, but be fatal to the interests and the existence of both. What he pointed at particularly was, the time of bringing forward the question. He readily joined in returning his majesty thanks for his communication; but instead of engaging to proceed to an early consideration of the subject, he should endeavour to persuade the house not to proceed at all to such a consideration.

Mr. Pitt in reply said, he was at a loss to guess on what grounds the honourable gentleman would attempt to satisfy the house they ought not to proceed to the consideration of the important measure, which his majesty, from his paternal regard to the interests of the empire, had thought proper to recommend to their consideration; at the same time he informed the house, that his intention was only to propose an address to his majesty on the next day; and then, after a sufficient interval, (about ten days) to proceed to the farther discussion of the subject. It was not his wish even then to press the house to come to a vote until the outline had been opened; then the general outline and principles would be submitted, and it would be proposed to have the resolutions printed, and to allow a farther interval, for the purpose of enabling gentlemen to be properly prepared for the discussion.

Mr. Sheridan considering the measure as the counsel of his majesty's ministers, said he deprecated the mischievous consequences of any discussion at all; and therefore was not to wait for a discussion, when he deprecated the consequences of it.

The motion for taking his majesty's message into consideration on the morrow was agreed to.

On the following day Lord Grenville in the House of Peers moved the order of the day for taking his majesty's message into consideration; no debate occurred; and the peers voted an address of thanks for his majesty's gracious communication, assuring him, that they would maturely deliberate on the subject recommended to their notice, and promote any adjustment for consolidating the general interests of the British empire.

When Mr. Dundas moved for a like address in the commons, he observed that it was then unnecessary to dwell on the subject, as a future day would be appointed for discussing it.

The address having been read, Mr. Sheridan said, that he conceived it incumbent upon ministers before they proposed the discussion of a plan of Union, to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the last solemn adjustment between the countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish parliament in 1782* was recollected. The British legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connection ought to be adopted. The people of Ireland, who cherished the pleasing remembrance of that period when independence came upon them as it were by surprise, when the genius of freedom rested upon their island, would come to this second adjustment with a temper which would "augur not tranquillity but disquietude, not prosperity but calamity, not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors."

It might be deemed informal, he hoped it was not improper, to enter into the discussion on an address of thanks. There were topics on which silence would be unworthy of the majesty of truth, and his country had claims upon him, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready to liquidate to the full measure of his ability.

There was a time when it would have been intimated to him, that to agitate in that house any question relative to the affairs

* We beg leave to represent to his majesty, that the subjects of Ireland are entitled to a free constitution; that the imperial crown of Ireland is inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the happiness of both nations essentially depends; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct dominion, having a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof: that there is no power whatsoever competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland: upon which exclusive right of legislation we consider the very essence of our liberties to depend, a right which we claim as the birth-right of the people of Ireland, and which we are determined, in every situation of life, to assert and maintain.

of Ireland would be an encroachment on the rights of the parliament of that country ; and that such an insult to the dignity of that body, and to its competence of legislation, would inflame that quick spirit of independence, which the sister kingdom knew how to express, and had ever appeared both able and ready to infuse into a system of ardent intrepid opposition to every act of ulterior domination. But now that the question involved the independence and very existence of the Irish parliament, he did not suppose that any speaker would have recourse to such an argument. In discussing the intricate and delicate interests, which the king's message embraced, he could see the possible danger of increasing the discontent of the people of Ireland: but danger was to be apprehended from a violation of the rights and the independence of Ireland. Whatever might be the consequences of the present scheme, he was disposed to give credit to ministers for purity of intention. He could not suspect that they would propose a measure which they believed would ultimately cause a separation of Ireland from this country. He feared the agitation of the question might rather encourage than deter our foes, and that the distraction which it might produce would aid their purpose.

To render an incorporate union in any respect a desirable measure, the sense of the nation ought to be freely manifested in favour of it ; but there was no prospect of obtaining such a concurrence ; and an Union carried by surprise, by intrigue, by fraud, corruption, or intimidation, would leave both countries, with regard to permanency of connection, in a situation worse than the present : nor ought the Union to be obtained by following the advice of a pamphleteer (Mr. Cook) who hinted that we should recollect the game played off by the volunteers of Ireland to take advantage of Great Britain, and play the same game against them. Let them never have to say to the English, " you offered us your assistance, against domestic and foreign enemies ; we accepted it, and, in return, gave you affection and gratitude, and the irreproachable pledge of all the support in our power. You then took advantage with your 40,000 soldiers ; you constrained us to submit to an Union ; you would not wait for our consent. Some were afraid of being suspected of disloyalty, if they should come forward ; others were banished ; all were sensible that it was in your power, by acts of negative intimidation (the expression would be understood by those who talked of negative success) by refusing to send more men, or to relieve our pecuniary difficulties, to force an Union. If by such acts they deprived Ireland of the power of resisting any claims made upon her, if thus they wrung from her her independence, if thus they intimidated and corrupted her parliament to surren-

der the people to a foreign jurisdiction, he would not justify the Irish in a future insurrection, but he would say, that the alleged grounds for it would wear a very different complexion from the late.

That the proposition itself should be entertained in Ireland, must be considered as an extraordinary case. To the period of the last solemn adjustment, the great impolicy and heinous injustice of the British government towards Ireland for 300 years is notorious and avowed. Is it then reasonable to suppose, that a country, the object of such insult for three centuries, when at last she had wrung from our tardy justice that independence, which she had a right to claim, and had obtained commercial advantages, should, only sixteen years afterwards, so far forget all prejudices, as to surrender the means, by which she acquired those advantages? Would this be the case, if the free sense of the country were manifested? But it is possible that, during those sixteen years, the parliament may have forfeited the confidence of the country. Do the Irish plead guilty to this charge? On the contrary, did not his majesty congratulate Ireland, that by the vigour of her parliament she had acquired an increase of prosperity? And that by the vigilance of the Irish parliament the late conspiracy was detected and brought to light: and when new disturbances are dreaded, was it to be dismissed? Was the detection of plots likely to be better effected by the English parliament?

Would it be maintained, that the measure of an Union would not wholly dissolve the legislature of Ireland; that independence would survive Union, though in a modified state; and that the parliament would be left to judge of the local affairs of Ireland? Really this seems almost too much for men's feelings. A parliament! A sort of national vestry of Ireland, sitting in a kind of mock legislative capacity, after being ignobly degraded from the rank of representatives of an independent people, and deprived of the greatest authority that any parliament could possess! Could such a state be called a state of independence? And could we suppose that the Irish would agree to such an Union under any other circumstances than those of force?

Was the parliament of England competent or qualified to legislate for the parliament of Ireland? Impossible. Every advantage of situation favoured the one; the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by every disadvantage of situation and every dissimilarity of temper and habit. Lord Chancellor Clare said, that the English parliament was less acquainted with the state of Ireland, than any other body of men in the world. How then was the parliament of England better

fitted to legislate for Irishmen, than that of Ireland with its experience?

With respect to the general effect of intimidation, it did not rest upon presumption. Had not a threat been thrown out, in what might be considered as an official proclamation, that the troops which had been sent to Ireland might be withdrawn, that the money with which she was aided might be withholden, and the country left helpless and devoted? Must not the Irish, then, who have supported the connection, feel that they are not at liberty to choose? Such insinuations an Irish clerk or secretary had thought proper to throw out in his official pamphlet. The effect then upon the Irish must be, that it is impossible for them to come to a free discussion of the subject. Such hints from persons in office, and the dismissal of the best friends of Ireland from office, warranted this inference, that if a person, whether in or out of office, should oppose the Union, he will be considered as a traitor to his country? What must be the effect upon the minds of the officers and volunteers throughout the kingdom? He was willing to believe, that the noble lord at the head of affairs in Ireland had been directed to do what had been alluded to, and that it was not of his own accord. But to talk of free will under such circumstances was only adding mockery to injustice, and insult to injury.

He contended that the adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would still be distinct; and that eventually it might lead to separation. The king of Sardinia had lately consented to the surrender of his territory, and said it was right; but did any one believe that the consent was real? The case was the same with respect to Ireland. We could not have her real consent; we do not wish it, or would not have had recourse to corruption and intimidation. They had heard much abuse of French principles; but he recommended the abstaining from French practices. Let no suspicion be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption; let our Union be an union of affection and attachment, of plain dealing and free will; let it be an union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power; let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud, and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when by tenderness of behaviour we may have her the willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage; her bans ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of 40,000 men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population.

Some delay in this matter could produce no danger ; and it was incumbent on the projectors of the plan to state the reasons, which rendered them so eager to press it. As they had not explained their motives, he had been obliged to have recourse to the castle pamphlet as to the proclamation of the Irish government. That author offered singular reasons for dispatch ; a dread of the continued influence of the pope and the intrigues of the British anti-ministerial party. He had also a singular mode of quieting the Catholics, by making them desperate, by telling them that they had nothing to hope from their parliament. " Dissatisfaction (said the pamphleteer) would sink into acquiescence, and acquiescence soften into content." " A very pretty sentence," said Mr. Sheridan, " for a novel !" But what right had the author to assume, that when the Union should have taken away the rights of the Catholics, their dissatisfaction would sink into acquiescence ? On the topic urged by the pamphleteer, respecting the expediency of making use of a time of war and embarrassment to accomplish the wishes of Britain, in return for the advantage taken by the Irish volunteers on a former occasion, and by the United Irishmen at a more recent period, he remarked, that the indignation of every man of honour must be roused by such an appeal to the spirit of revenge. Such arguments weighed so lightly against the disadvantages of the measure, that he could not but condemn the precipitancy with which it was brought forward.

Mr. Sheridan then stated the probable risque of changes in our political system, from the introduction of 100 members into the British House of Commons ; members who, having sacrificed the parliament of their own country, might not be scrupulously tender of the British constitution. He then disputed the competency of the Irish legislature to sacrifice itself and transfer its power to the British legislature.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving an amendment,* expressing the surprise and deep regret with which the house learned from his majesty that the final adjustment, which, upon his gracious recommendation, took place between the kingdoms in the year 1782, and which, by the declaration of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connection between them upon a solid and permanent basis, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement ; and also intimating, that his majesty's faithful commons, having strong reason to believe that it was in the contemplation of his ministers to propose an Union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the said adjustment, felt it to be their bounden duty, impressed as they were with the most serious apprehensions of the consequences of such

* 7 Parl. Reg. p. 592.

a proceeding at this time, to take the earliest opportunity humbly to implore his majesty not to listen to the counsel of those who should advise or promote such a measure at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances of the empire.

Mr. Canning first answered the allegations of Mr. Sheridan with regard to the adjustment of the year 1782. That agreement, he said, was termed final in one of the resolutions then adopted; but, from a subsequent vote, it appeared that the idea of establishing some more permanent system never had been relinquished. An attention to the true import of that vote would remove all imputation of impropriety and inconsistency from the measure then proposed. The late numerous and momentous events in Ireland rendered England more particularly interested in whatever concerned that kingdom. A most foul rebellion had broken out in that country, which, by the wise and vigorous measures of government, had been checked, though not totally quelled; party heats and animosities still existed; factions still remained, whose leaders did not merely aim at the expulsion of this or that set of ministers, who aimed not at a partial reform of this or that political abuse, real or pretended; but whose views threatened the annihilation of the government and constitution of Ireland, and the total ruin of all connection between that country and this? The existence of the horrid conspiracy was proved by the avowals of self-convicted traitors, who were not penitent, but still entertained hopes of accomplishing the plots, which had been detected by the vigilance of parliament, and of the executive government, and which would have laid the capital of the country in ashes, and destroyed every thing that was valuable or dear to the inhabitants: after the detection then of these deep and damned plots, was it not a matter of urgent necessity to devise and adopt the most effectual means of counteracting the pernicious consequences that might otherwise flow from them, consequences that not only affected the continuance of the connection between the two countries, but which deeply struck at the prosperity and very existence of both?

Hence, the high importance of the object was evident. It was not the making of a provincial regulation, the adjustment of an internal difference, or the arrangement of a plan for balancing parties; it was nothing less than to secure Ireland to us and to herself, and thus to promote the happiness and security of the whole empire. It would have been more fair and candid, more like a statesman and patriot, deliberately to examine the plan before he would reject it, and then, if he could suggest any other scheme by which such a desirable object could be attained, to state it for the consideration of the house. He had not, how-

ever, said that he possessed any such plan ; and therefore the house ought not to reject the discussion of that proposed to them. Mr. Canning defended the consistency of Mr. Cook's pamphlet ; and then referred to a work written by Dr. Duigenan, and observed, that one of more convincing argument and more sound truth he had never seen. The author, he thought, had confuted his antagonist, Mr. Grattan, in the completest manner. In speaking thus of Dr. Duigenan, he did it without partiality, because he did not know whether that gentleman were friendly to the Union or not. The doctor was well known to be decidedly hostile to the pretensions of the Catholics, insisting on their exclusion from a share in the legislature, or in any of the great offices of state ; but he admitted at the same time that the necessity of that exclusion would be done away by the adoption of an Union, which would secure the Protestant ascendancy, should they even grant the Irish Catholics complete emancipation.

Here then were two parties in opposition to each other, agreeing, however, in one common opinion. But it was contended that this was an improper time for proposing the measure ; yet, if an Union would quiet the agitations of Ireland, why should the remedy be delayed till the mischief of a battle should have taken place. The present time seemed particularly proper for the scheme of Union ; and one of the effects that would speedily result from it would be the removal of a considerable part of that armed force which excited the jealousy of the last speaker. That the deliberations of the Irish legislature had been influenced by the terrors of that army, or that the freedom of speech had been taken away, Mr. Canning was unwilling to admit. No evidence of such intimidation could be adduced ; he justified the conduct of the ministry towards Sir John Parnell, whose opposition to a measure of such importance would render him a very unfit associate, and might excite doubts of the sincerity of the court.

It ought to be considered, that some of the principles of the French revolution had made a great impression upon the inhabitants of Ireland, poor and uncivilized as the generality of them were, and distracted by religious feuds ; and that the enemy still hoped to profit by the favourable dispositions of a part of that nation. To extinguish such hopes, to put Ireland out of danger, both from her foreign and domestic enemies, and in every point of view to improve her condition, were the objects of the proposed Union. It was not the fault of the people that the country was in such a situation ; they wanted commerce, they wanted capital, they wanted a particular class of men to connect the highest and the lowest orders of society, so as to

harmonize the whole. But it was not a mere act of parliament that would accomplish these great and beneficial objects: it was only a connection with a country which had capital, which had commerce, which had a respectable middle class of men, that could effect the desired change.

It had been said, that for the space of three hundred years we had oppressed Ireland; but for the last twenty years the conduct of England had been a series of concessions. The Irish wanted an octennial parliament; it was granted. They wished for an independent legislature; they had their wish. They desired a free trade; it was given to them. A very large body of the people of Ireland desired a repeal of a part of the penal code which they deemed oppressive; the repeal was granted. The honourable gentleman had spoken as if nothing had been done for Ireland but what she extorted, and what she had a right to demand; he seemed to think that past favours were no proofs of kindness. It was undoubtedly expedient that these advantages should be given to Ireland, because her prosperity was the prosperity of England; but they were not privileges which she could claim as matters of right.

Mr. Canning concluded with recommending a strict attention to his majesty's proposal, as the only great and comprehensive view that had ever been taken of the affairs of Ireland, and with declaring his opposition to Mr. Sheridan's amendment, as it would debar the Irish from obtaining that relief which their necessities and their danger demanded.

Mr. Jones objected to the Union, chiefly, because it was unsolicited by the Irish, who were the best judges of its expediency, and was therefore ill calculated to allay their discontent.

After Mr. Sheridan, in explanation, had briefly supported the opinions which he had delivered, Mr. Pitt offered himself to notice, as a defender of the address, and of the general principle of the proposed Union. The address, he said, would only pledge the house to take into serious consideration a subject, which was earnestly recommended to its notice, and which was closely connected with the interest of the British empire. The mover of the amendment had deprecated all deliberation upon the subject, and even insinuated that the Irish parliament had not the power of carrying the result of its deliberations into effect, if it should determine in favour of an Union, without an appeal to the people. That position, if true, would be applicable to the parliaments of both countries, the rights and privileges of both being the same; would go to invalidate the acts of the last ninety years, and tend to annihilate the whole authority of the British parliament. To say that the ministers wished to sur-

prise the house into this measure, was also an ill-founded assertion; for they had rather been scrupulous in the opposite extreme. The question was, whether the house should proceed to deliberate in a grave and solemn manner, or should, without examination, pronounce the Union to be unnecessary, dangerous, or impracticable. That gentleman and his friends had, in the course of many years, loudly complained of the mismanagement of the affairs of Ireland, expatiated on the deformity of its constitution, and lamented the miseries of its inhabitants. Would it not then be more prudent to apply a promising remedy at the present time, than to risque the effects of long delay, by which the evils of the country might be aggravated and embittered? These evils had a deep root, being involved in the prevailing character, manners, and habits of the people, in their want of knowledge and intelligence, in the state of property, in the separation between certain classes, and in the rancour of religious dissensions. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform had been recommended as remedies; but there was little doubt that these pretences covered dangerous designs. If those objects could be obtained by calm investigation, and should seem adequate correctives, few would decline an acquiescence in them. But if the state of society be such, that laws, however wise in themselves, would be ineffectual as to their object, until the manners and customs of the people were altered....if men were in a state of poverty, in which it was impossible that they could have any comfort....if the progress of civilization depend in a great measure upon the distribution of wealth....if the improvement of that wealth depend much upon the distribution of capital....if all the advantages to be derived from an increase of national wealth depend much upon the temper of the inhabitants....if those advantages, together with the still greater advantage of mental improvement, be all retarded by the distractions and divisions of party, by the blind zeal and phrenzy of religious prejudices, by old and furious family feuds....if all these causes combine to make a country wretched, what was the remedy? A legislature standing aloof from local party connection, sufficiently removed from the influence of contending factions to be the advocate or champion of neither; being so placed as to have no superstitious reverence for the names and prejudices of ancient families, that have so long enjoyed the monopoly of certain public patronages and property, which custom had sanctioned, and which modern necessity might justify; a legislature that would neither give way to the haughty pretensions of a few, nor open the door to popular inroads, to clamour, or to the invasion of all sacred forms and regularities, under the false and imposing colours of philosophical improvement in the art of government.

All that was wanted for Ireland. Where was it to be found? In the country where the evils which he had enumerated existed, or in this? Where should that legislature deliberate? In a place where the utmost effort of what was called patriotism amounted to nothing more than an aim at temporary popularity, as was evident from what had happened, or in a place where the discussion was calm and temperate? Certainly the latter; that is, in England. To neglect the establishment of such a legislature, when it was possible to do so, was an imprudence, which nothing could justify.

Mr. Pitt did not assent to Mr. Sheridan's observation, that England had oppressed Ireland for three hundred years; but he would say, that for one hundred years this country had followed a very narrow policy with regard to that kingdom. When the connection with Ireland was something more than a name, when that connection was ascertained, and the imperial parliament of this country exercised a supremacy over Ireland, it did happen that during that period the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced by views of commercial advantage, tainted and perverted by selfish motives, treated Ireland with illiberality and neglect, and did not look upon her prosperity as that of the empire at large. He reprobated, as much as the honourable gentleman, that narrow-minded policy as mischievous and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both kingdoms. These jealousies, however, would be buried by the plan, which would soon be brought forward. They all had in their mouths a sentence, importing that every good Englishman and good Irishman felt they must stand or fall together; that they should live and die together; and yet without such a measure as that which was about to be proposed to them, there could be no security for the continuance of that sentiment. The happiness of both countries ought to be perpetual. As it then stood, it was liable to a thousand accidents; it depended upon the violence of the moment; it might be governed upon views of temporary popularity, or by the personal convenience of a few individuals; a tenure upon which the happiness of a nation ought never to depend.

Of the settlement of the year 1782, he said, the very authors of the measure were not satisfied with their own work, as appears from the journals of the house. They saw the imperfections of their own measure; and, as a supplement, it was recorded on the journals, that such other terms should be settled as should be agreed on between the two nations. But nothing had been done to give it effect, and therefore he had their own authority to say that it was defective.

He added, that it was incumbent on those gentlemen to show the bad tendency of the present measure, rather than requisite for its advocates to enlarge on its probable benefits; for the conduct of the former proclaimed the necessity of making some new attempt in favour of Ireland. Those who sanctioned the independence of the Hibernian parliament, without any security that the two legislatures would never differ essentially upon any point, in which the happiness of the British empire might be involved, were particularly bounden to show, that such a difference was not likely to happen, or that it might easily be remedied. How stood the case in point of experience as to the regency. The honourable gentleman said there was no difference between the parliaments as to the regent. There was indeed no difference as to the *person* who was to be regent; but there was an essential difference as to the *principle*, on which that person was to be regent: the Irish parliament decided on one principle, the British parliament on another; their agreement with regard to the person was accidental; and upon the distinct principles on which they proceeded, they might as well have differed in the choice of the person who was to be regent, as in the adjustment of the powers, which were to be granted to him. Would any one say, there was no necessity for arrangement, for securing an uniformity of opinion on points essential to the existence of the empire, and guarding against all those evils which must arise, when two bodies, which should act in concert, move in contrary directions? That they had not hitherto differed in the great and momentous events, which had been agitated before parliament, was a good fortune, which had arisen from one general cause; from the Union of all descriptions of persons against one common enemy, with the exception only of a few, whose counsels, happily for both countries, and for the civilized part of the world, had lost all their influence.

Could any man say, that such difference as was manifested in the time of the regency would never occur again? When they came to treat of peace, for instance, or to consider the subject of alliance with any foreign power, or any question of trade or commerce, might not local prejudices occasion a difference between the legislatures upon points essential to the welfare of the British empire? What would have been the consequence both to England and Ireland, had the dissensions in Ireland been the same in point of force against the executive government in parliament, since the commencement of the present war, as they were at the time when the Irish propositions were rejected? If, in the present contest, the leaders of opposition should have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly possessed, a vote for peace might pass, and the efforts of Great Britain might be para-

lysed. Would the honourable gentleman say, that the parliament of Ireland might not in such a case neutralize its ports, prevent the raising of recruits for the army and navy, strike a fatal blow at the power, and endanger the existence of the empire? Let any man maturely reflect on the dangers that might result from the present situation of both countries; and he would tremble at the perils, to which they were exposed. Under these circumstances, could they do justice to either country by neglecting to bring forward the proposal of Union.

After a renewed exposure of the deplorable state of Ireland, and an additional enforcement of the necessity of incorporating that realm with Great Britain, he said, "I see the case so plainly," and I feel it so strongly, that no apparent or probable difficulty, no fear of toil, or apprehension of a loss of popularity, shall deter me from making every exertion to accomplish the great work, on which, I am persuaded, depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the general interest of the British empire, and perhaps the happiness of a great part of the habitable world."

When the question was put for the amendment, it was rejected without a division; and the address was immediately voted.

On the 31st of January, the message being again read, Mr. Pitt rose, and in a long speech supported the grand object, which his sovereign recommended. He began with a reference to the late proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland. That the parliament of that kingdom had the right and the power of rejecting a proposition of that nature, he did not presume to deny; yet, convinced as he was that the measure would not only tend to the general benefit of the empire of Great Britain, but would particularly increase the prosperity and ensure the safety of Ireland, he deeply lamented the unfavourable reception of the scheme in the Irish House of Commons. He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the conduct of that house; but, while he admitted and respected their rights, he felt that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he also had "a right to exercise and a duty to perform." That duty was to express, as distinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of a plan which he considered as pregnant with the most important advantages. If the British parliament, upon full explanation, and after mature deliberation, should be inclined to favour the scheme, he would propose that its opinion should remain recorded as a determination by which it would abide, leaving to the dispassionate judgment of the legislature of Ireland the future adoption or rejection of the plan.

With regard to the general principle of the measure, both sides of the house seemed to consider a perpetual connection between Great Britain and Ireland as essential to the true interests of both.

Assuming it then as a proposition not to be controverted, that it is the duty of those, who wish to promote the interest and prosperity of both countries, to maintain the strongest connection between them, he asked, what situation of affairs had called them to the discussion of this subject? This very connection, the necessity of which had been admitted on all hands, had been attacked by foreign enemies and domestic traitors. The dissolution of this connection was the great object of the hostility of the common enemies of both countries: it was almost the only remaining hope, with which they still continued the contest.

A close connection with Ireland having been allowed to be essential to the interests of both countries, and that connection being dangerously attacked, it was not to be insinuated that it was unnecessary, much less improper, at that arduous and important crisis, to see whether some new arrangements, some fundamental regulations, were not requisite, to guard against the threatened danger. The foreign and domestic enemies of these kingdoms had shewn, that they thought this the vulnerable point in which they might be most successfully attacked. Let us derive advantage, if we can, from their hostility; they felt the most ardent hope, that the two parliaments will be infatuated enough, not to render their designs abortive by fixing that connection upon a more solid basis.

The nature of the existing connection evidently did not afford that degree of security, which, even in times less dangerous and less critical, was necessary to enable the empire to avail itself of its strength and resources.

The settlement of 1782, far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That settlement consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together. A system, unworthy of the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. But to call that a system in itself....to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system....was a perversion of terms.

Mr. Pitt then quoted the parliamentary journals, to prove that the repeal of the declaratory act was not considered by the minister of the day as preclusive of endeavours for the formation of an ulterior settlement between the kingdoms; for under his auspices, an address had been voted, requesting his majesty to take

such measures as might 'establish, by mutual consent, the connection between this kingdom and Ireland upon a solid and permanent basis.' No measures of that kind, however, had since been adopted. The two countries were left with separate and independent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive government; and that was not a sufficient tie to unite them in time of peace, to consolidate their strength in time of war, to give to Ireland her full share of commercial and political advantages, or to both nations that due degree of strength and prosperity to which they were entitled. On this head he referred to the opinion of Mr. Foster, who was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland at the time when the commercial propositions were brought forward. That minister then said, "Things cannot remain as they are. Commercial jealousy is roused; it will increase with two independent legislatures; and, without an united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connection: which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at, as a possible event."

Mr. Pitt added, that the evils apprehended by Mr. Foster could only be remedied by two means: either by a commercial compact, similar to that which was rejected in 1785, or by an union of the two legislatures. He insisted upon the peculiar importance of drawing out the whole strength of the empire, and thus ensuring its safety at that critical moment. The people of Ireland were proud, he believed, of being associated in the great contest, and must feel the advantage of augmenting the general force of the empire. Every statesman, every writer of any information on the subject has holden, that the measure most likely to augment the power of the British empire, was the Union and consolidation of every part of it.

Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack upon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connection with Britain, and to substitute in lieu of it the new government of the French republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was opened for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England.

Mr. Pitt remarked, that he well knew, that as long as Ireland was separated from Great Britain, any attempt on our part to pursue measures which we might think salutary, with respect to questions of contending sects or parties, the claimed rights of the Catholics, or the precautions necessary for the security of

the Protestants, must certainly be a violation of the independence of that kingdom, and an usurpation of the right of deciding points, which could only be brought within our province by compact. He could not be inattentive to the events, that were passing before him, and he affirmed, that whoever considered the French as shewing by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the weakest and most vulnerable part of the empire; whoever reflected on the dreadful and inexcusable cruelties instigated by the enemies of both countries, and on those lamentable severities, with which the exertions for the defence of Ireland were unhappily, but unavoidably, attended, and the necessity of which was itself one great aggravation of the crimes and treasons which led to them, must feel that, as it then stood composed, in the hostile division of its sects, in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants, in the ignorance and want of civilization, which marked that country more than almost any other country in Europe, in the unfortunate prevalence of Jacobin principles, arising from these causes, and augmenting their malignity, and which had produced the distressed state that all now deplored; must agree in thinking, that there was no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the most prominent features was its want of industry and of capital. How were those wants to be supplied, but by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and the capital of Great Britain? But, above all, in the great religious distinctions between the people of Ireland, what was their situation? The Protestant feels that the claims of the Catholics threaten the existence of the Protestant ascendancy, while, on the other hand, the great body of Catholics feel the establishment of the national church, and their exclusion from the exercise of certain rights and privileges, as grievances. In this state of affairs, it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of many persons, whether it would be better to attend to the fears of the former, or to grant the claims of the latter.

He was well aware, that the subject of religious distinction was a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to such a country as Ireland. Where the established religion of the state was the same as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country was in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons professing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people was different, it was not easy to say, on general principles, what system of church

establishment in such a country would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many, it would be contended, that the religion professed by a majority of the people would at least be entitled to an equality of privileges: but those who applied such an argument without qualification to the case of Ireland, surely forgot the principles, on which English interest and English connection had been established in that country, and on which its present legislature was formed. No man could say, that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure, it was obvious that this question might be agitated in an united imperial parliament with much greater safety than it could be in a separate legislature. He also thought it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought necessary, after the union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arose out of their situation would be removed, if the Protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial; and the Catholics themselves would at once feel a mitigation of the most goading and irritating of their present causes of complaint.

He enumerated the general advantages, which Ireland would derive from the effects of the proposed arrangement; the protection which she would secure to herself in the hour of danger; the most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition, to accelerate the progress of internal civilization, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions, which distracted the country, and which she did not possess within herself the power either to control or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honours, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those, whose abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honourable and laudable ambition.

From the question of general advantage the minister proceeded to specific statements of the benefits, which Ireland might derive from the plan, in point of commerce and manufactures.

Having thus assigned his reasons for recommending an incorporate Union, Mr. Pitt noticed some objections which had been urged against it, particularly those which related to parliamentary

competency, and to the loss of the independence of the realm of Ireland.

The minister spoke much at large upon the nature of civil power, because he felt, that the false and dangerous mockery of the sovereignty of the people was one of the chief elements of jacobinism, one of the favourite impostures calculated to mislead the understanding, and to flatter and inflame the passions of the mass of mankind, who had not the opportunity of examining and exposing it; and that as such, on every occasion, and in every shape in which it appeared, it ought to be combated and resisted by every friend to civil order, and to the peace and happiness of mankind. He next addressed some observations to those politicians, who deprecated the loss of national independence.

In combating this general and abstract principle, which would operate as an objection to every Union between separate states, on the ground of the sacrifice of independence, he did not contend that there was in no case just ground for such a sentiment! Far from it; it might become, on many occasions, the first duty of a free and generous people. If there existed a country, which contained within itself the means of military protection and naval force necessary for its defence; which furnished objects of industry sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary resources adequate to a dignified maintenance of the rank, which it had attained among the nations of the world; if, above all, it enjoyed the blessings of internal content and tranquillity, and possessed a distinct constitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it was within itself capable of correcting; if that constitution were equal if not superior, to any other in the world; or (which was nearly the same thing) if those, who lived under it believed it to be so, and fondly cherished that opinion; he could easily conceive that such a country must be jealous of any measure, which even by its own consent, under the authority of its own lawful government, was to associate it as a part of a larger and more extensive empire.

But if there were a country, which against the greatest of all dangers that threatened its peace and security, had not adequate means of protecting itself without the aid of another nation; if that other were a neighbouring and kindred nation, speaking the same language, whose laws and customs were the same in principle, but were carried to a greater degree of perfection, with a more extensive commerce, and more abundant means of acquiring and diffusing national wealth: the stability of whose government, and the excellence of whose constitution, were more than ever the admiration and envy of Europe, and to which the very country of which they were speaking could only boast an imperfect resemblance: under such circumstances, what

conduct would be prescribed by every rational principle of dignity, of honour, or of interest? He asked whether that were not a faithful description of the circumstances, which ought to dispose Ireland to an Union, and whether Great Britain were not precisely the nation, with which on those principles, a country, situated as Ireland was, would desire to unite. Did an Union, under such circumstances, by free consent, and on just and equal terms, deserve to be branded as a proposal for subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke? Was it not rather the free and voluntary association of two great countries, which joined for their common benefit in one empire, where each would retain its proportional weight and importance, under the security of equal laws, reciprocal affection, and inseparable interests; and which wanted nothing but that indissoluble connection to render both invincible?

———*Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.*

The objection drawn from the injury, which Ireland might suffer by the absence of her chief nobility and gentry, who would flock to the Imperial metropolis, was obviated by remarking, that, though this effect would take place during a part of the year, the disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the operation of the system in other respects. To prove the assertion, Mr. Pitt entered into a very close chain of reasoning from presumption, analogy, and experience as to Scotland.

As the adversaries of the Union had propagated an idea, that the main principle of the measure was to subject Ireland to a load of debt and an increase of taxes, he again looked to Scotland. Was there any instance where, with forty-five members on her part, and five hundred and thirteen on ours, that part of the United kingdom had paid more than its due proportion to the general burthens? Could it then be apprehended that we should tax Ireland more heavily when she became associated with ourselves? To tax in its due proportion the whole of the empire, to the utter exclusion of the idea of the predominance of one part of society over another, was the great characteristic of British finance, as equality of laws was of the British constitution.

When they should come to the details of that proposition, it would be in their power to fix, for any number of years that should be thought fit, the proportion, by which the contribution of Ireland to the expences of the state should be regulated, and to determine that these proportions should not be such as would make a contribution greater, than the amount of its present necessary expences, as a separate kingdom. Even after that

“VII. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expences of the united kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the Union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union.

“VIII. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.”

Mr. Pitt at the same time moved an address to accompany the resolutions, stating, that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message; that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a *complete and entire* Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; and that they were therefore induced to lay before his majesty such propositions, as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom, in due time and in a proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work.

Mr. Sheridan cautioned the house against the seductive force of the minister's oratory, which might mislead some into an assent or concurrence, that their cooler reason would condemn. He contended, that in the alarming state of Ireland, it was unsafe to drive a spirited nation into an experiment of so delicate and so important a nature. The fate of the question, when it was lately agitated in Ireland, might reasonably induce him to desist from the prosecution of the scheme; but, as he had solemnly pledged himself for the exertion of his most strenuous efforts to produce an Union of the two kingdoms, it might be apprehended, that he would pursue his course in defiance of every obstacle, would make use of artifice to gain his point, flat-

ter and delude the Irish, and by seeming to respect their declared opinion, lull them into inactivity, the more completely to subjugate them to slavery. The House, Mr. Sheridan hoped, would not be so inconsiderate as to adopt a system, which would cherish animosity and discord, where affection ought to be conciliated, and harmony established, which would sow dissension between the commons and the peers of Ireland, irritate the whole parliament by holding it up to view as a feeble and inefficient body, duped by English factions, and array the British House of Commons against that of another realm governed by the same sovereign.

If the condition of Ireland were really as deplorable as it was stated to be, the house ought to be informed from what misconduct such evils had arisen, amidst the advantages which God and nature had bestowed upon her. It might be concluded, indeed, that her poverty was chiefly occasioned by the narrow unwise policy of Britain, a policy which, he was glad to find, the minister now disapproved. Her weakness, perhaps, was not so great as it was supposed to be; and, if it were, it was ungenerous to insult her. Such an insult would not have been offered to her while her volunteers were in arms. He reproved Mr. Canning for pleading the cause of bold and barefaced corruption; and thus clouding and contaminating with its foul fog and baneful breath the pure morning of his political life; and censured, as wanton and unnecessary, Mr. Pitt's pledge for the prosecution of his favourite measure. He animadverted on the conduct of the court in the dispute respecting the Catholics. A lord lieutenant had been sent to that kingdom to allay animosities, and gratify the great bulk of the nation. The cup of concession was presented to their lips, but, when they were on the point of tasting, it was dashed in their faces, and the new viceroy was recalled. Was that a proper prelude to an union?

In reply to the observations of Mr. Pitt on the adjustment of the year 1782, he maintained that it was intended to be final with regard to the constitution of Ireland; but he admitted that some regulations, chiefly commercial, were to have been proposed for the improvement of the connection between the kingdoms.

The assertions respecting the number of Irish who wished for an Union were not well founded. A considerable majority of the peers, indeed, were inclined to promote it; but in the House of Commons the court had little reason to boast of its success, as, notwithstanding the apparent plurality of votes for the measure, the far greater number of independent members were adverse to it, and out of parliament the approvers of it were very few. The inhabitants of Cork, it was said, were

friendly to the scheme, and those of Limerick were likewise disposed to favour it: but had not the lure of a dock-yard been thrown out to the former, and a menace to the latter on the subject of the linen trade? Thus, while some were to be bribed, others were to be intimidated into compliance. The Catholics were among those, to whom favours were promised; but might not they be gratified without an Union? and might not every advantage, which was mentioned as the probable result of the scheme, be afforded without its adoption?

Mr. Sheridan recapitulated several of his former arguments, and concluded with reading two resolutions, to which, he thought, no true friend of either country would object. They were couched in these terms: "that no measures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connection now existing between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the manifest, fair, and free consent and approbation of the parliaments of the two countries:" and "that whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purpose of corruption or of intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and to the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury animadverted on the charge of intimidation, affirming it to be inapplicable to the proceedings of the ministry in the present case; denied that any corruption had been practised; and represented the dismissal of Anti-Unionists from office as a proof of the sincerity of the premier in the prosecution of an important measure. He controverted the finality of the adjustment of 1782, and declared his conviction, that the radical evils of the existing government in Ireland could not be completely removed without an Union. It would allay the jealousies of the Catholics and the Protestants, promote in every respect the prosperity of Ireland, and add to the strength and respectability of the whole empire.

Dr. Laurence conjured the house to relinquish a discussion, which might be productive of serious mischief, while so high a degree of irritation pervaded the public mind in Ireland. The measure, he said, was not necessary at the present moment, even if it promised to be more beneficial than he had reason to think that it would be. The settlement of 1782, according to the opinion of Mr. Burke, was to every constitutional purpose final and conclusive, though the mercantile concerns of the two countries might require some further arrangements.

The house then divided upon the question for the speaker's leaving the chair, when the ayes were 140, the noes 15.

The confident assurance of the minister in final success encouraged him to the prosecution of this great design. Having

allowed the interval of a week for the consideration of the resolutions he had submitted to the house, on the 7th of February he proposed a full discussion of the subject in a committee of the whole house, but before it was formed, he consented to dispose of Mr. Sheridan's motions respecting the fair and free consent of both parliaments.

Mr. Sheridan then renewed his opposition to the scheme. Since the last meeting, he said, many gentlemen had been induced to alter their opinions, and to agree with him on the impropriety and the danger of persisting in a measure, which was highly obnoxious to the people of Ireland; and as the house had not pledged itself to the support of it, it was not too late to check the rashness of its zealous advocates. The minister might wish to pursue it against the sense of a nation; but the house ought to be so far guided by prudence and judgment as to disregard all his persuasions, and rescue the empire from the peril, in which he would involve it. It was curious to observe the coincidence of the minister's views and declarations, in several instances, with those of a party, to which he was not generally suspected of being attached. He agreed with the United Irishmen, in wishing to destroy the obnoxious constitution of Ireland. *They* alleged, that the parliament of that kingdom had occasioned all the evils, which afflicted the country: *he* adduced a similar charge against that body. *They* represented the Irish legislators as being the dupes of British faction: *he* imputed all the errors of the government, all the distractions and misfortunes of Ireland to the same source, to the sway of a party, at the head of which was his friend the Duke of Portland, and to which another of his present associates (Mr. Wyndham) belonged. Both were ready to exclaim, *Delenda est Carthago*, though they differed in the mode of destruction; as the United Irishmen wished to depose their parliament, and establish a republic with foreign aid, while the premier wished to merge the delinquent legislature in that of Great Britain. In the pursuit of their aims, those malcontents had recourse to menace and intimidation; he did not scruple to adopt means equally improper. He recommended the adoption of a plan of honest incorrupt administration, as a remedy which had not yet been tried; and the present conjuncture was particularly favourable for the experiment.

Mr. Pitt protested against the resolutions. One, which was self-evident, it was not necessary for the house to record, and there was still less reason to entertain it, as it appeared to contain practical falsehood under the form of literal truth; for it implied, that the measure was to be carried into effect without the fair and free consent of parliament. The second proposition tended to stigmatize every minister, whose persuasions should procure the dismissal of officers of the crown on account of a

difference of sentiment upon any great political question. That practice arose out of the very nature of regular government, and was necessary for the public service.

Mr. Grey contended for the propriety of recording the propositions of his friend on the Journals of the house; they would serve as pledges, he said, for the honourable intentions of the British government, and allay the jealousy of the Irish nation.

On a division upon the previous question, the numbers were 25 against and 141 for it.

The committee was on the point of being formed for the discussion of Mr. Pitt's propositions, when

The honourable Mr. Saint John conjured the house to dismiss the question for the present, as the agitation of it might be productive of mischievous consequences.

Mr. Grey considered the question as the most momentous that had ever been submitted to the deliberation of parliament, either in point of constitutional right or of public policy; but as one of the parties whose consent was necessary had declared against it, he recommended a suspension of the scheme. He was earnestly desirous of the prevalence of the most cordial harmony, of the establishment of an effective Union, not an Union of parliaments, but of hearts, of affections, and interests; of vigour, of ardour, of zeal for the general welfare. The scheme then offered seemed to be of a very different tendency. It threatened discontent, jealousy, and distrust.

The evils in question might be imputed to the misconduct of government rather than to the separation of the parliaments; and for these the prime minister was responsible, unless he should be able to prove, that obnoxious measure had been forced upon him by the sturdy dispositions of the Irish members. Who had fostered the religious dissensions and political feuds, which distracted the nation? Who had raised hopes, and disappointed those hopes? Who had excited alarms, and created discontent? The prospect of additional favours to the Catholics had given pleasure to liberal men of all denominations; but a party, not distinguished by talents or by real dignity, fomented animosity and intolerance, and procured by intrigue a dereliction of the system of concession. From that moment affairs wore a gloomy aspect; and the consequences were violent and disastrous.

Mr. Secretary Dundas (now Lord Melville) observed, that the measure, far from operating injuriously on Ireland, would increase the political and commercial advantages of that country in the same proportion as those of Scotland had been improved by the Union. That 'a spirit of clamour and dissension, of treachery and treason,' menacing the overthrow of the government existed in Ireland, no one, he thought, would have the

boldness to deny; and, as the influence of widely-extended conspiracies endangered the connection between the countries, an immediate interference was necessary to rescue the western realm from the intrigues of the common enemy. For a due regulation of the affairs of any community, a mutual confidence ought to subsist between the governors and the governed; but that was not the case in Ireland, where the great body of the people did not repose in the parliament that confidence, which was essential to its utility. The reasons of that defect grew out of the frame and constitution of that parliament. The whole power of that country being vested in a fourth part of the nation, and that fourth being separated from the rest by religious distinctions, heightened and envenomed by ancient and hereditary animosities; it was impossible that a proper confidence could exist between them. For the establishment of such a confidence, the grant of a free participation of all the privileges of Britons by the superintending care of an imperial parliament, would be the most efficacious measure. The Protestants would then lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger their establishment the whole strength of the united legislature would be exerted; and, on the other hand, the Catholics would expect that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a general parliament, the great body of which would be relieved from the apprehensions and animosities interwoven with the constitution of the existing legislature.

Mr. Dundas spoke largely of the Scottish Union, and referred to a letter of Queen Anne to the northern parliament, predicting the various blessings, with respect to religion, liberty, and property, which would result from the scheme of incorporation, and he said, that not one syllable of her predictions had failed.

Two estates of the Irish parliament, the king and the peers, had 'pointedly expressed their desire, that the subject should be entertained and considered;' while 'only a verry narrow majority' in the House of Commons had embraced the contrary opinion. It could not therefore be said, that the affair was so far decided as to render it unnecessary or improper to submit it again to the notice of the Irish nation. He could not help auguring well to the final success of the measure, as essential to the happiness of Ireland, when he contemplated the clamour and violence, by which the consideration of it had been resisted. These are not the weapons, by which truth and solid reasoning maintain their empire over the hearts and understandings of men. Cool consideration and sober reasoning were the arms by which the cause of truth was supported; and he had no doubt that these weapons, properly used, would ultimately succeed

against clamour and prejudice. Thus the system of excise, once highly unpopular, was at length relished and approved of; and the union with Scotland, odious at first, became at last a popular measure.

Mr. Dundas expressed his wish that the Irish would dispassionately re-consider the proposal; and he was confident, that they would find it the best remedy for the disorders of their country, their strongest bulwark and their greatest blessing. He concluded a very long and not altogether uninstructional harangue with a strong hint, of the probability of future indulgence being granted by an Imperial Parliament to the Catholics of both countries, and a sketch of the bitter effects of French fraternity, which, he hoped, no Irishman would prefer to British liberty.

Mr. Sheridan replied to some of the arguments of Mr. Dundas with a mixture of reasoning and raillery, and still urged the impolicy of persisting in a measure, to which the Irish did not give a free assent.

Mr. Windham observed, that it had been insinuated that the Union was a measure calculated for the exclusive advantage of Great Britain at the expence of Ireland; but the reverse seemed to him to be the case. The disorders of that kingdom might be ascribed to various causes; they chiefly grew out of the nature of its constitution. That like a body distorted and misshapen, gave rise to various diseases, some chronical, and some acute, which, as they were inherent in its frame, no medicine could eradicate. The deformity of that constitution was its coercive form; it was like a garrison in the midst of a conquered town: it was a mere provisional government, deriving its existence, form, and power, from another state. Much of the misery of Ireland also arose from the barbarous ignorance of its people, who had been rendered ferocious by the animosities which existed among them. That ferocity had given occasion to new restraints on the part of the government, which redoubled the fury of the people. The constitution, therefore, and the gross ignorance which it encouraged, were the remote causes of the distractions of Ireland; but the proximate cause was undoubtedly the inoculation of French principles, which could never enter into the blood without producing death. Unfortunately the contamination had reached Ireland, and to its baneful influence might be attributed the late horrible disorders of that kingdom.

Mr. Tierney was surprised that ministers should have proposed an Union to this parliament without having been previously assured of the consent of the Irish legislature; but he was still more astonished and even alarmed at their present perseverance, after the strong disapprobation of the measure in Ireland. The Catholics perhaps might profit by the measure; but

their expectations had not a very firm basis. Industry might be more prevalent, wealth might increase, and good morals might become more general; but these points might be gained without an Union. He was among those who doubted the competency of the Hibernian parliament on this occasion: as a delegated body could not be justified in surrendering the trust reposed in it by the people.

Mr. Grant* spoke to three points. The first had reference to the assent of the Irish parliament, which Mr. Sheridan had hinted might be enforced by military terrors: he denied that there was any ground for supposing that the deliberations of the Irish legislature were or would be influenced or governed by force. If the army should overawe the members, he allowed that a free assent could not be given; but it did not appear that the presence of the troops in the country had any effect on the freedom of deliberation. The Irish did not seem to be under the least restraint in the delivery or propagation of their opinions. The second topic was the competence of parliament. This body, he said, was morally incompetent to do any thing improper or unjust; but it was legally competent to do any thing whatever. The third point was, whether it were proper to discuss the measure after the late proceedings in Ireland. He contended that the refusal of taking the subject into consideration in the House of Commons of that realm ought to operate as an additional reason for stating the terms, that the offer might not be finally rejected before the true nature of the scheme should be known to the public.

Mr. William Smith spoke shortly against the prosecution of the plan. The question for the Speaker's leaving the chair was carried by 149 against 24, who opposed it. A committee of the whole house was immediately formed, and the resolutions were moved and carried.

On the 11th of February, the minister having moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee for the further consideration of his majesty's message,

Mr. Sheridan recommended a substitute for legislative union. He was of opinion, that the abolition of all disabilities, which had been incurred in civil affairs by religious distinctions, would tend more to the improvement of the connection between Great Britain and Ireland than the measure brought forward. He had the authority of the premier himself for the expediency of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland from the incapacities, to which they were subjected. Such was the opinion of the leaders of the cabinet in the year 1795; and, though Earl Fitzwilliam were not then desired or permitted to propose the emancipation,

* Now Sir William Grant, master of the rolls.

he is allowed to have been expressly authorized to give "*a hand—some support on the part of government.*" But a change of sentiment soon occurred; and the consequences of that change were deeply to be lamented.

Having censured the impolicy of neglecting that great object, and of recalling a viceroy, who was the avowed advocate of the Catholics, Mr. Sheridan contended that his proposal would remedy much of the evil and misery, which existed in Ireland, by extinguishing religious feuds, and promoting an union of interests; that no danger would attend the adoption of it, as all fears of the prevalence of popery were groundless; and that it would increase the strength of both countries, without injuring the constitution of either. He then moved, that it should be an instruction to the committee to consider 'how far it would be consistent with justice and policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions.'

Mr. Pitt objected to what he called a very extraordinary proposition. He was surprised that one, who professed himself a warm friend to the independence of the Irish parliament, should propose what would be an obvious encroachment on that independence, an act of dictation and control. The motion itself, and the declarations of the mover, were, he said, inconsistent with each other. He denied that the rebellious disturbances, in Ireland originated in any degree from the refusal of granting emancipation to the Catholics, or that Earl Fitzwilliam was authorized to hold out any hopes or make any promises which were afterwards withdrawn or retracted.

The motion was now rejected without a division; and a fresh debate arose, when Mr. Pitt moved that the Speaker should leave the chair.

Lieutenant-general Fitzpatrick, who had acted as secretary to the viceroy of Ireland (the Duke of Portland), asserted, from his own knowledge of the views of the cabinet in 1782, the constitutional finality of the compact which was then adjusted, and completed in the following year. An incorporative union, from its tendency to a subversion of that settlement, deserved in his opinion the severest censure. What security would the Irish have for the continuance of any promised advantages? How would a minority be able to enforce the execution of the terms? In every case of rivalry British superiority would overwhelm the interests of Ireland.

The honourable Mr. Dudley Ryder warmly defended the Union. Instead of violating or subverting the independence conceded in 1782, it was in itself a strong recognition of that

claim; and Ireland, after an Union, would be as independent as Great Britain. The apprehensions of a subsequent inattention to the interests of Ireland were also ill founded, as all rivalry would be lost in community of interest and mutuality of benefit.

Mr. Tierney, to prove that the settlement in question was understood to be final, referred to an address (voted on the 28th of May, 1782), in which the Irish House of Commons assured his Majesty, that 'no constitutional questions between the two nations would any longer exist, which could interrupt their harmony.'

Mr. Dundas allowed that the independence of the Irish parliament had been completely acknowledged in 1782, but denied that this agreement could preclude its free assent to any future measure whatever, and affirmed that it was the intention of government at that time to propose new arrangements.

The Solicitor General (Sir John Mitford*), speaking of the adjustment, observed, that, from the nature of the transaction it could not be complete or final, and that the expectations of ulterior arrangement were general at the time.

The honourable Mr. Percival† concurred with the gentlemen who denied the finality of the adjustment of 1782; he represented the Union as a beneficial scheme; and exhorted the house to adopt the resolutions, that its sentiments might be recorded and fully known.

Mr. Sylvester Douglas‡ observed, that his opinion of the competency of the parliament of Ireland to adopt an Union, was confirmed by the opinions of the chiefs of the four great tribunals in Ireland.§ Very few of the anti-unionists themselves ventured to dispute the point.

* Now Lord Redesdale, chancellor of Ireland.

† Now solicitor-general. This gentleman spoke more fully and explicitly than any other gentleman in debate upon the case of Mr. A. O'Connor's trial at Maidstone, and the nature and tendency of the evidence given by several gentlemen of the Opposition (particularly Mr. Sheridan) in his favour. He particularly animadverted upon Mr. Sheridan's assertion, that with what he then knew, he should, if he were again called upon to give evidence to the character of the person in whose favour he appeared, hold the same language which he did at Maidstone, and express himself still more strongly in his favour, viz. "That Arthur O'Connor was one of the most open of mankind, and one who was least inclined to have recourse to French assistance!" Such was the character which the honourable gentleman gave of that man upon his oath. If he reflected, he would surely admit that it was an unguarded manner of giving the character of a man guilty of the most atrocious treasons; and the honourable gentleman was reduced to the dilemma of either admitting that he had been grossly mistaken in the character of O'Connor, as the most open of mankind, or that he did not state the whole of what he knew upon oath.

‡ Now a peer of Ireland by the title of Lord Glenbervie.

§ These were the Earl of Clare, Chancellor; Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Lord Garlton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and

Dr. Laurence urged against the proposal for an Union, that the people of Ireland were fond of their parliament; and their parliament was not, as it had been represented, torn by factions; the Opposition of it had done all that could be done for their country; they were, indeed, low in numbers, but not in estimation. When a lord lieutenant had been recalled because he had given his confidence to them, if in consequence of it, and of being perpetually kept out of power, Mr. Grattan took up some question in a light which he did not approve; it was only such conduct as no man not more than mortal could help adopting. Since that time he had been made the subject of much misrepresentation, when his only fault was that of sullen retirement from the senate. He then went at considerable length into most of the points connected with the subject.

On the division of the house for the speaker's leaving the chair 131 voted for it, and 19 against it. The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro formâ*, and then adjourned.

When Mr. Douglass had taken the chair, on the 12th of February, Mr. Hobhouse suggested the propriety of abandoning all further proceedings for the present, as not only the parliament, but the whole people of Ireland appeared to be decidedly against the measure of any Union at all. And Mr. Banks grounded his objections to an union upon the disordered state of Ireland, which rendered it not only inexpedient but unsafe to coalesce with her. An union, he said, would not remedy her evils; but her own parliament might gradually redress her grievances. That legislature ought to retrace some of its steps, and, drawing a line between the disaffected and the loyal Catholics, re-enact restrictive laws against the former, while the latter should be admitted to all the privileges now enjoyed by the Protestants.

Lord Chief Baron Yelverton: who, he asserted, in preparing the bill for Legislative Independence in 1782, made no scruple to declare, that it was in his views and his wishes, that the transactions of that day should lead to the happy measure of an Union. To those opinions the honourable gentleman contrasted some of the United Irishmen's sentiments upon the same subject (8 Parl. Reg. 37); that fraternity had from its first institution, in 1791, been alarmed at the idea, that an Union between the two kingdoms might defeat their projects. In 1795, at a meeting in Dublin, where those persons, and others of the same sort, had defamed the character of the Irish Catholics by assuming that description, when many of them were, in truth, Atheists, and of no religious persuasion, the apprehension of an Union being then strong in their minds, Mr. Lewins declared his opinion of the incompetency of the parliament to such a measure, in the following terms: "*Who shall dare to assert that the Parliament of Ireland can do this? No man but an enemy to both countries; a traitor to the King and the People.*" And Dr. M'Nevin expressed himself thus: "Parliament is incompetent to such an act of national suicide. Can the creature of the people, with partricial arm, destroy the author of its existence? The attempt would be high treason against the nation, and put it out of the protection of society." These opinions were quoted from "The authentic Statement of the Proceedings of a Meeting held in Francis-street Chapel, 9th April, 1795."

British intrigue and faction ought also to be studiously checked in Ireland, as they had been productive of much evil. The proposed incorporation, he thought, would not tend to tranquillize that country.

The speaker of the House Mr. (Addington*) viewed the subject very differently from Mr. Bankes. He was convinced, from the situation of Ireland at that moment, not merely of the expediency, but of the urgent necessity of an union. Though the parliament of that kingdom might of itself redress some grievances and remove some causes of irritation, there were radical and inherent evils closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, and with the temper, the feelings, and the prejudices of the people, for which nothing but an incorporation of the two legislatures could provide a remedy. The state of Ireland, he said, had at no period of its history been such as to afford satisfaction to any mind that could justly appreciate the blessings of a well-ordered, a flourishing, and a happy condition of civil society. The bounty of Providence had, indeed, been displayed in that country by a fertile soil, and by abundant means of internal improvement and prosperity. Its inhabitants were not less distinguished than those of Great Britain, in corresponding stations of life, for eloquence, for literary and scientific attainments, and for those talents and exertions, which had established the naval and military renown of the British empire. Their form of government was the same as our own; but it wanted its true characteristics; it did not, like ours, bestow and receive general confidence and protection; for it was not connected by ties, which he trusted were here indissoluble, with the obvious interests, the feelings and the sentiments of the great body of the people.

He was not one of those who were unwilling to remove the real grounds of complaint against the Protestant ascendancy; but he was strongly disinclined to a scheme, which might expose that establishment to immediate and perhaps inevitable danger. Indeed, the only measure which promised to secure the Protestants, and at the same time to favour the Catholics in a reasonable degree, was that of a legislative union. His opinion on this subject was 'sanctioned by great and respectable authorities,'by Sir Matthew Decker, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Childby Molyneux, the friend of Locke....and by many distinguished men of the present time. With the sentiments of these friends of an union he would contrast those, which were professed by Dr. Mac Nevin and the united Irishmen, whose decided repugnance to a measure that tended to the frustration of

* Now first commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer,

their traitorous projects served to demonstrate its necessity. That it was calculated to avert much probable evil from both countries and to produce positive and substantial advantages to both, he could affirm without hesitation.

No consideration so forcibly impelled him to wish for an union, as his conviction of the beneficial consequences, which would result from it to the internal situation of Ireland. He had no doubt of its leading to the removal of a principal ground of animosity, by precluding that species of contest which had hitherto subsisted for political authority and power; and, among the lower orders of society, he was confident that its salutary effects would be found in that change of manners, the result of habitual industry, which would be produced by the transfer of capital from Great Britain to Ireland.

It had been said, that the measure would not produce any immediate advantage to the Catholics of Ireland; but to this assertion he could not accède. The elective franchise, bestowed on them in 1793, could hardly be considered as a boon: for the very right, with the limitation annexed to it, could not in general be exercised without some degree of violence to their opinions and their feelings, and could only be used for the purpose of contributing to form a house of commons, the whole body of which they conceived to be adverse to their interests. But the same franchise, when employed in contributing to form the representation in an united parliament, would be accompanied with the satisfactory reflection, that the individual in whose behalf it was exercised would be mixed with those, a majority of whom were uninfluenced by the prejudices, which had been imputed to the parliament and the great body of the Protestants of Ireland.

He did not deem it necessary to offer an opinion respecting the expediency of extending to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, in the event of an union, a more ample participation of the rights and privileges of Protestant subjects; but he quoted a passage from one of the speeches of Dr. Duigenan, importing, that an union would render it unnecessary to curb the Catholics by any exclusive law.

He strongly maintained the competency of the Irish parliament to adopt the measure, and reprobated the attempts to preclude the discussion of the subject, by the denomination of a final adjustment, which had been bestowed on the proceedings of the year 1782.

Of danger to the commercial interests of this country he entertained no serious apprehension. It was not true, that Britain would necessarily lose what Ireland would gain. He knew, besides, the liberality and the good sense of the merchants and manufacturers of this country.

After a dispassionate consideration of the subject, he was of opinion, that greater advantages were now offered to Ireland than had ever been afforded by any single measure to any country ; that the Union would greatly augment the national resources, and place upon a rock which would be impregnable, as far as that term could be applied to any human establishment, the strength and security of the British empire. His ideas and hopes even extended farther, as he was fully persuaded, that whatever tended to consolidate and maintain the power and the independence of these kingdoms was of signal importance to the best and most valuable interests of mankind.

The five first resolutions were then read by the chairman, and agreed to without objection. The sixth, which went to grant equal free trade to Ireland, called up Mr. Wilberforce Bird, who considered it as requiring particular deliberation, from the effect, which it might have on some important branches of manufacture carried on in this kingdom, and requested that it might not be precipitately sanctioned. Mr. Pitt thought it a matter of indifference to the general welfare, in what part of the empire a particular manufacture should be carried on, provided it were in a place, where it was most likely to flourish.

The remaining resolutions were carried : and, on the 14th, upon the question for bringing up the report,

Mr. Hobhouse stated his reasons very fully for opposing the measure. First it was obnoxious to a great majority of the people of Ireland. Next, he doubted the competency of the Irish parliament to its adoption. Then he urged, that a resident legislature would be better qualified than a remote parliament to remove the internal evils of the country. And lastly, the Irish members of the imperial parliament, sensible of their inferiority in point of number and interest, would servilely court the favour of the minister, and that accession would tend to destroy the fair balance of the English constitution.

Lord Granville Leveson Gower declared himself a cordial friend to an union, which he considered as necessary for the safety and welfare of both countries.

Mr. Robert Peel, who, in the year 1785, had appeared at the bar as a petitioner against the commercial propositions, declared that the support which he now gave to the scheme of incorporation arose from a change of circumstances rather than of sentiments, as the former plan, in offering extraordinary advantages to an inferior state, which had in some measure a diversity of interest, was much less expedient than one, which would promote a community of interest by a completeness of union.

Affirming that both kingdoms would derive additional strength and security from union, he attributed the greater share of benefit to Ireland. He stated the case of two commercial houses; one being of the first respectability, having an immense capital, and extending its concerns to every part of the globe; the other in a comparatively low situation, with little property, limited credit, and confined connections. A proposal being made by the former to take the latter into partnership on equal terms, it might be supposed that the offer would be eagerly accepted; and, each party losing its distinct firm, the two houses would then become one.

Lord Temple regarded an union as pregnant with various advantages, one of which gave him particular gratification: which was, its anti-jacobin tendency.

By union Ireland would exchange her nominal independence, under which she had suffered the most calamitous misfortunes, for substantial benefits and permanent security.

Mr. Jones opposed the Union, and warned the minister of the danger of introducing 100 Irish members into the British House of Commons, to add to his muzzled majority. The day of their appearance might be rued as fatal to the independence and happiness of both countries.

Lord Morpeth bestowed high praise on the measure, both in point of policy and of benevolence; and considering it as the only scheme, which could correct the vices and supply the defects of the Irish government, he gave it his most strenuous support.

Sir John Mitford (Lord Redesdale) made several pointed allusions to the doctrines of Thomas Paine, who asserted that parliament could not reform itself, or correct its abuses, without having recourse to the advice and authority of a convention of the people. The full competency of parliament for the enactment of an union could not be denied; the propriety of the measure was obvious. The present government of the British empire was, in one point of view, a solecism in politics. Two independent parliaments formed the organ, by which the sovereign will of the state was expressed. Such an establishment resembled a monster with two bodies and one head, the power of the head being checked and limited by that of each body.

Colonel Wood agreed with Mr. Addington that the disorders of Ireland were to be attributed to radical defects in the government of the country. In the late rebellion Catholics and Protestants seemed to have buried all religious differences, conspiring against the connection between the kingdoms on true jacobinical principles. The return therefore of

such a rebellion would most effectually be prevented by an union.

Mr. Bankes, Lord Belgrave, General Fitzpatrick, Mr. Pitt, and some others spoke again to the subject on their former grounds. On a division for bringing up the report, the ayes were 120, the noes 16.

When the first resolution had been agreed to by the house, Mr. Tierney, alleging that this would sufficiently indicate the disposition of that house towards an union, moved that the further consideration of the resolutions should be postponed for three months; the motion was not seconded, and all the resolutions were agreed to.

The next procedure in this business was a communication of the votes of the commons to the lords, at a conference which took place on the 18th. The peers ordered the resolutions to be printed, and some illustrative papers to be produced. And in order to avoid precipitancy on so important a subject, they allowed a month's interval for consideration before they entered upon the discussion.

From the minister's exertions in the British senate to carry the great question of Union, we must proceed to watch its progress in Ireland. In Dublin the defeat of the minister in the House of Commons was considered as the death blow of the Unionists, and was celebrated in every quarter of the city with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The violent opposition, which Mr. Foster gave to the measure, had suddenly translated him from very general dislike and odium, to the pinnacle of frantic popularity.* Some short time afterwards the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council went in state to Molesworth Street, where Mr. Foster resided, amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators, the band playing "Long live the king," to deliver an address to him as an honest man and lover of his country, for not voting away the liberty and independence of Ireland. And on the same day a numerous body of the merchants and traders of the city of Dublin went in procession from the Royal Exchange to his house, and also presented him a most respectful address to the like purport.

On the 28th of January Lord Castlereagh in the Irish House of Commons moved for an adjournment to the 7th of February, in order to engraft his further parliamentary proceedings upon the issue and result of the debates in the British House of Commons. Sir John Parnell opposed the motion, as there never was a moment, in which it was more necessary for the parliament of Ireland to remain vigilant at its post. For if he

* The public proceedings of the county of Louth on the 14th, and of the city of Dublin on the 18th of January, 1799, which are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXVII. shew in what estimation Mr. Foster then was.

were to credit report that the British minister had declared, "that he would unceasingly persevere in a measure respecting the internal situation of that country," to which the parliament of Ireland had so recently and so decidedly given its negative, he trusted the house would see the necessity of resisting the measure of adjournment, at least until they should know what were the sentiments of the British minister and the British parliament, when they should come to learn the sentiments expressed, and the decision which took place in the parliament of Ireland on that subject; for it was impossible the British minister or parliament could have known the sentiments of the parliament of Ireland, when they had discussed the measure on the very same day it was rejected there. The British minister, whom he knew to be a man of great talents and great wisdom, he was convinced so soon as he should come to know the decision, which had taken place in that house upon the subject, could not be either so impolitic or so rash as to persevere. That house and the people of Ireland had learnt, since the decision of Thursday last, to consider the question as at rest, but the declaration of the British minister could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could these alarms ever be quiet in that country, so long as the people could consider the measure as still hanging over them; and if the British minister were to persist in the declaration after the sense of the Irish parliament and Irish people were known to him, it was impossible for any friend to his country, or British connection, to contemplate the consequences without the most serious alarm.

Lord Castlereagh rose and said, the right honourable baronet himself furnished by his arguments the strongest reasons for the necessity of the adjournment. That house would but ill support its own dignity, if it were to be ruled in its proceedings by the unauthenticated reports of newspapers; it should wait for authentic documents, whereon to govern its conduct. But what was the language attributed to the British minister in discussing this topic in the British parliament? Nothing more than what had already been used by himself (Lord C.) in that house, merely recommending the measure of Union to the consideration of parliament, and declaring it to be a measure, in his conception, so essentially indispensable to perpetuate the connection between both kingdoms, to consolidate their mutual strength, and promote their mutual prosperity, that he should never lose sight of it; certainly not meaning that he would, or could press it against the Irish parliament and the Irish people. Little would he deserve to be a minister, who, though such a measure might for the present be contrary to the sense of parliament and of the nation, would bind himself by any declaration that might for ever hereafter preclude him from propounding that or any

other measure for the consideration of parliament, which as a minister bounden to promote the good of the country, he should conceive would tend to that desirable end.

Mr. Barrington opposed the adjournment, and inveighed against the speech of the British minister on the subject. There was not a man within either nation more zealously attached in loyalty to his king and government than himself, nor who would sacrifice more cheerfully to the maintenance of both; but if the honour and the dignity of the Irish parliament were to be again outraged, by an attempt to press upon them the odious measure of an Union, against which that house had already contended with so much spirit, virtue, and honest indignation, he declared, that he for one would go every length to oppose it in every shape and in all its ramifications. The people of Ireland should be told, in the strongest manner, of this daring attack on the independence of their parliament and the liberties of their country; and that house ought to come forthwith to some strong declaration in assertion of its own authority and independence.

Sir Henry Cavendish supported the adjournment. The sense of the country, he was convinced, was not generally against the measure; he had conversed that day with a gentleman of great respectability from the county of Cork, who assured him, all that province were decidedly in favour of the measure.

Honourable Mr. Trench was for the adjournment, as the best mode of preventing the agitation of the public mind, so long anxious upon this question that it required time to repose.

Sir John Freke rose in consequence of what had fallen from (Sir H. Cavendish) touching the sentiments of the people of Munster. He had not that day conversed with many gentlemen from that country, but he had received letters from some of the most respectable and best informed gentlemen in that province, which so far from declaring the people there unanimous in favour of an Union, positively assured him of the strongest persuasion, that had the vote of Thursday night passed in favour of that measure, the whole province would have been the next day in open rebellion; and added, that it would not be very safe for the members, who voted for the measure to return to that part of the country.

Colonel Bagwell had received several letters from some of the best informed gentlemen in Tipperary, and so had his colleague, declaring the whole county to a man decidedly adverse to the measure of an Union.

Mr. Plunket condemned the declaration of the British minister, which was made under the influence of ignorance and delu-

sion, as to what were the real sentiments of the parliament and people of Ireland on the subject of Union. The noble lord had intimated that the time might come when the parliament and the country would be glad to solicit the measure, as the only means of effectually securing tranquillity. He hoped the noble lord did not mean to insinuate, that measures would be adopted to produce such effects in the country, as would create the necessity of such a situation, in order that "what was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled." He was not overfond of seeing a minister rule the country, who seemed to have a taste for verifying his own predictions as to the necessity he foretold.

Several gentlemen, who did not oppose the adjournment, spoke for and against the Union.

The question being now put, was carried in the affirmative without further opposition.

Colonel Maxwell Barry said, he had no objection to the adjournment, but as from the declaration of the British minister, stratagem might be apprehended, gentlemen hostile to the project would see the necessity of the fullest attendance throughout the session; and he should therefore move a call of the house on the 8th of February.

Lord Castlereagh assured the honourable gentleman nothing could more satisfactorily accommodate the government than a full attendance of members at all times, as the best means of expediting the public business; and with respect to the question of Union, he had already declared his determination explicitly, "that he should never bring it forward so long as it appeared to him repugnant to the sense of parliament and the country."

Colonel Maxwell Barry observed, the noble lord could not himself answer for what he might do, as he must act according to the instructions he received from the other side.

Mr. Martin wished the call of the house postponed to a further day, in order to give ample time for gentlemen to take the sense of their constituents.

Colonel Maxwell Barry amended his motion to the 11th of February, which was agreed to.

Sir H. Cavendish, after a short preface, in which he stated, that the house of parliament had been degraded by personal outrage and insult to several of its members, coming to and retiring from that house, in consequence of votes given in that house, moved three resolutions to the following effect:

"That any insult or assault offered to any member of parliament coming or going from that house, in consequence of any thing said or done in parliament; or any attempt to intimidate any member from any vote in that house; or any tumultuous assemblage of persons meeting in the passages to that house,

"to awe or intimidate its members, to or from any vote, or any measure, is an high infringement on the privileges of that house."

Colonel Maxwell Barry declared for himself personally he had neither witnessed nor heard of any such insult or violence offered to any member. If the right honourable baronet alluded to the joy shewn by the people on a late occasion, he thought, considering the exultation universally felt, the conduct of the populace extremely calm and patient before and during the discussion, and extremely moderate in their expression of triumph on the defeat of the measure.

Doctor Browne agreed with Mr. Barrington, who said he had heard it asserted that day in the hall of the Four Courts, that the right honourable baronet had declared his determination to move for the removal of the parliament to Cork, in order to secure safety in its deliberations.

The attorney general said it was notorious that both the persons of members had been assaulted and abused by the most opprobrious names, their houses attacked by mobs, and themselves declared traitors to their country, for having voted in favour of Union; and that certainly such attempts to overawe the parliament would warrant its removal to Cork.

The Right Honourable Denis Browne, in proof of the daring insults, which had been offered to the dignity of that house, read a paragraph from the Dublin Evening Post, calling the minister of the country and those members who voted for an Union "*a corrupt minister and his corrupt phalanx.*" It was, he said, his intention to have called the printer to the bar, that night, and moved for his committal to Newgate, which he declared he would do the very next time he saw so daring and contumacious a libel in print. The house adjourned to the 7th of February.

Out of parliament, the viceroy with the strength of the castle, neglected no means which seemed likely to promote the grand object of their wishes; by which he gained over occasional proselytes. He was, however, on the other hand strongly opposed by many even of his former friends, and found the majority of the nation (however desirous of a continuance of connection) hostile to the scheme of Union.

Meetings, in the different counties, were encouraged by the Anti-unionists; and strong resolutions were adopted with few dissentient voices. The military commanders sometimes interfered, on pretence of preventing the intrusion and violence of the lower classes; and in more instances than one, some over-zealous subaltern officers (without authority) used menace and intimidation in order to deter free discussion at those meetings.

The freeholders of Fermanagh on the very day of the last sitting of parliament, added their voices to those of the other Anti-unionists ; in the King's County and the shire of Limerick strong declarations were voted against an Union ; and in the counties of Monaghan and Clare, the electors thanked and applauded the members who had opposed it. In February, the like course was pursued by the freeholders of Cavan, Tyrone, and other shires ; but, in that of Galway, the archbishop of Tuam and other respectable individuals warmly declared in favour of Union ; and, in the town of Galway, an address was voted by many of the inhabitants, maintaining the necessity of it in very concise and forcible language. " In the constitution of the empire, as it at present stands, we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy. A Protestant parliament and a Catholic people ! Hence religious dissension and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same empire ! Hence local prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782, the Irish parliament acquired the right of independent legislation....a right equally unsafe to exercise or not to exercise. To exercise it would have been to endanger the unanimity, and thereby to hazard the division of the empire ; while, by declining to exercise this right, the Irish parliament brought upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British legislature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the empire, we can see but one remedy ; and that remedy is an Union."

In the commercial city of Cork, a great disunion prevailed ; for, while many of the traders and other inhabitants were zealous for the ministerial scheme, a great number were hostile to it. Above 700 of the latter signed and published an address of thanks to the parliamentary Anti-unionists in general, and to the Earl of Charlemont and Mr. Foster in particular, which were answered by those two gentlemen.

While the public mind was in that state of agitation, the speech which Mr. Pitt delivered on the 23d of January, was circulated throughout the nation with more than ordinary industry, and some of that minister's remarks, as interpreted by the Anti-unionists, increased the public ferment.

When the Irish House of Commons met on the 7th of February according to adjournment, there not being forty members in it, the speaker adjourned to the next day, when a complaint was made to the house of several paragraphs* that had appeared in

* " 28th of January, 1799.

" 18 Com. Journ. p. 17. A more disorderly debate scarcely ever we believe took place in any of the assemblies of France since the beginning of the

the Sun, an English newspaper, generally considered to be under the immediate direction and control of the British minister. This therefore was considered by the Anti-unionists as a part of the scheme of the British ministry to force the Union upon them, and they accordingly resolved, *nem. con.* that those English newspapers, in which the false, scandalous, and malicious libels were contained and published, should be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in College Green, and that the sheriffs of Dublin should attend to see the same done accordingly. Although the horrors of the late rebellion had now merged in the feelings and irritation created by the question of Union, still the old means of proclaiming different districts to be in a state of disturbance were resorted to: and it is not a little remarkable, that the first county proclaimed to be in that state, was that of Galway, on the 12th of February, in which county the earliest and most vigorous exertions had been made in favour of Union: whence many concluded, that the advocates for that measure, such as were the Earl of Clanricarde, and most of the nobility and gentry of that county, considered that it would be the more effectually carried, the more the people were subjected to *military rule and influence.

" revolution, than in the Irish House of Commons on the question respecting the Union; the speeches of those who were in favour of the measure were received with hisses and groans, and those who were adverse were cheered with the plaudits and huzzas, not only of the members but of the galleries; the tribunes of the French assemblies perhaps never interfered in a manner more likely to influence the deliberation than the strangers upon this occasion are said to have done; the most opprobrious language was held by some of the opponents to the measure towards its supporters, and it is a fact that many of the latter left the house, not chusing to remain in so tumultuous an assembly."

" 29th January, 1799.

" We are well assured that more than ten or twelve members of the Irish House of Commons who are favourable to the Union, left the house on the night the address was debated, disgusted by the violent and licentious conduct which the strangers in the galleries were allowed to pursue; the most urgent entreaties were vain to induce them to stay; but had they staid it is evident that the question would have been carried by a majority of more than a dozen."

" 30th of January, 1799.

" We should have given much more weight to the decision of the Irish House of Commons upon the subject of an Union, if the point had been coolly and dispassionately argued there; but to a question carried as it has been, we shall be excused if we say, that we cannot look upon it as the deliberative opinion of that assembly or of the people at large.

" The vote of the Irish House of Commons goes to say, that they will not even entertain the question of an Union, they will not accept of any terms. Give them all the advantages and privileges of British subjects, they reject them with disdain: nay the very offer they call an insult. Is this the voice of reason? or is it the clamour of faction?"

* It appears from a paper presented by Lord Castlereagh to the House of Commons on the preceding day (11th February) of the estimate of the charge of the regiments serving in Ireland, and belonging to the British establishment,

Personal applications were made by Lord Cornwallis to such of the members of the Irish parliament, and persons of influence and power in the country, as prudence directed: and the amiable and respectable qualities of the viceroy certainly procured a great preponderance of interest in favour of the Union from persons, who probably would otherwise have opposed it.*

that they amounted to 23,201 men, viz. (18 Com. Journ. Appendix, No. XLIX.)

Numbers.

- 1048 Battalion of first foot guards, ten companies, (flank companies not included.)
- 2096 Ditto of Coldstream, and ditto of 3d foot guards, same rate.
- 712 First battalion of 1st (or Royal) regiment of foot.
- 2136 Three regiments more at same rate, viz 2d, 29th, and 92d, late 100th.
- 588 Second battalion of Breadalbane fencible infantry.
- 817 Bedford regiment of militia.
- 1159 Worcester ditto.
- 1169 North Gloucester ditto.
- 1634 Royal Bucks ditto.
- 1158 South Devon ditto.
- 1126 Dorset ditto.
- 1047 South Lincoln ditto.
- 1443 Leicester ditto.
- 1278 Kent ditto.
- 1275 Hertford ditto.
- 1358 West Suffolk ditto.
- 1280 First Lancashire ditto.
- 1877 Warwick ditto.

23201

* The avowed sentiments of that great statesman, the Marquis of Lansdown, upon this subject, may well be presumed to have strongly affected many gentlemen less competent or likely to have formed their own opinions upon that important measure than the noble marquis. In his speech upon the Union, on the 19th of March, he thus expressed himself. (8 Parl. Reg. p. 285.) "I hate the word competence. I hate the word rights. I would not be within an hundred miles of the discussion of either, if I could help it. I care nothing for your majority of five in the House of Commons. I would rather adhere to the opinion of one sensible, unbiassed man, than a majority of seventy others, who are heated by a party debate, or the views of a faction. I do not think that ministers have much real knowledge upon the subject; it is pretty clear they have not, from what has happened. I have no knowledge myself upon this point. I am no Dissenter; nor am I a Catholic. But for my own part, I should have great confidence in the judgment, as well as the conduct of the present lord lieutenant. He is of no party. He is brave, and he is wise; for he is cautious as well as intrepid. Let him pledge his honour to the propriety of any measure. and I shall be much disposed to assent to it."

On the other hand, as Lord Rokeby was applied to by letter, his answer to the lord lieutenant will not be uninteresting to the curious reader.

Horton, near Hythe, Kent, 22d Jan. 1799.

* MY LORD,

"I HOLD myself highly honoured by the application expressed to me in your lordship's letter of the 11th instant; and the more

The determined perseverance of the British minister in a plan of so much utility to the empire at large, was not to be checked by the firmness of the Irish opposition.

On the 19th of March, Lord Grenville opened the business in the British House of Peers. In the performance of his duty, it afforded him some relief, he said, to find that the two main points on which the resolutions were founded, had been sufficiently established to preclude the necessity of dwelling upon them. These were, that the legislature of Ireland had an independent right of deciding upon any proposal of Union as fully as the parliament of Great Britain, and that the interest of the empire at large, and of every branch of it in particular, required the maintenance and improvement of the connection between the countries. So far from being unseasonable, he was of opinion, that it was highly expedient and politic to enter upon a speedy inquiry into the merits of the measure. Its nature had been misconceived in Ireland; the views of its advocates had

"so, as I am fully confident, that your lordship expects or desires from me no other than a plain and sincere answer to it.

"Give me leave to say then, that considering, as I do, a peerage of Ireland to be conferred and accepted as a great and almost sacred trust for the good, benefit, and advantage of the Irish nation, and so to be executed, I cannot give my consent and concurrence to remove from their country their own legislature by a legislative Union with Great Britain. I speak this, as being my public duty towards the people of Ireland.

"As a Briton and Englishman, I cannot but frequently and feelingly reflect, how very different the state of Ireland was about four or five years ago, from what it has been since; although it is, beyond doubt, exceedingly bettered by the wise, mild, and benevolent government of your lordship. Surely then, it much behoves some men well and seriously to revolve within themselves, what and whose counsels and system they have been, that have thus brought the Irish nation to their present disposition and situation from the temper and attachment to us, which so generally and warmly prevailed with them no longer ago than in the time of Lord Fitzwilliam. What a change! Are not such ways of proceeding and governing, the doing ourselves the work of our enemies?

"It is therefore most earnestly to be desired, that our responsible statesmen and ministers will duly and deeply consider, whether the proposed step is more likely to reconcile really our sister kingdom to England, or ultimately to exasperate and inveterate it in a greater degree against us, before they proceed in so extremely important, or, perhaps, almost desperate measures.

"Whether this distant and remote parliamentary election may not, by an addition to the power and influence of the crown, affect likewise our constitution at home; and whether no such event has, by a similar circumstance, ever already taken place in our own island, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to enter into.

"Such are, however, the humble, but sincere sentiments of a retired old man, who is nearer to ninety than to eighty years of age. I hope and trust, that your lordship will be pleased to accept them in good part as a respectful, although plain answer on the subject of the application made by your lordship to me.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord, &c.

"ROKBY."

been misrepresented; prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the proposition. To dissipate such delusions, and repel such assaults, early deliberation was necessary, that national animosity might not be imbibed or inflamed into a decisive rejection of the offer. It could not justly be thought an ill compliment to the commons of Ireland to discuss a scheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their strong approbation.

In examining the state of connection between the kingdoms, his lordship observed, that the settlement in 1782 did not supply the link, which by the abrogation of the former system was destroyed. It did not provide both for the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and for the close connection so essentially requisite for the common interests of the two countries. The supposed identity of the regal power in both was the only bond and security of that connection. That in a pure and unmixed monarchy might be sufficient; because the power of the sovereign could be exerted in the same manner in every part. The case, however, was different in a mixed government, where the exercise of authority was limited by the different privileges of its component parts. In Holland, for instance, from the time of Sir William Temple to the late subversion of the government of that country, every friend to the united states had lamented the imperfect connection which subsisted between them, and every enemy had availed himself of the defect. The Americans, on the establishment of their independence, had experienced a similar inconvenience. The power which existed in each of the federal states was found to be too great, and that of the whole too feeble. It had been thought necessary, therefore, to abridge the authority of the states individually, to draw closer the general union, and to enlarge the authority, by which the whole was governed, and holden together. Even now, perhaps, it was one of the principal defects in the constitution of the American states, that the power of each was too extensive, and that of the general legislature and government too weak for the public interest and security. The want of a general government, to direct the efforts and employ the resources of the whole confederacy, had contributed to the ruin of Switzerland. Had that country possessed a government capable of employing and directing its united strength, it might have opposed an effectual resistance to the violence and injustice of its perfidious enemy.

Considering the supposed bond of connection between Great Britain and Ireland, his lordship did not hesitate to say, that it was absolutely null. If by the constitution the royal power could soar above the control of parliament, the regal identity might operate as a medium of connection; but, if the par-

liament could check that power, and the crown required the aid of the legislature even for ordinary occasions of government, the connection was nugatory while each realm had a distinct parliament.

The noble secretary proceeded to treat in detail of the chief branches of the royal prerogative, with a view of illustrating the manner, in which they were or might be exercised in the two kingdoms. He argued distinctly upon the exercise of the ecclesiastical, military, fiscal, and political prerogatives of the crown, and plainly shewed how it might be checked and perverted from the constitutional ends of vesting them in the executive, by the possible (and as had actually happened in the case of the regency) discordance of independent parliaments. In the present state of connection, he contended, that the crown itself might give rise to a contest. The title to the crown was created by parliament, which was at all times competent to alter it. On what foundation then did the succession rest? It was regulated by the act of annexation: the Irish parliament was independent, and might vary the tenure, as well as that of Great Britain. Hence it was necessary for the general interest of the empire, that some measure should be taken for strengthening this connection. In the adjustment of a scheme of this nature, the local interests of Ireland claimed particular attention; and indeed the proposed plan would consolidate and extend those interests. The evils of that kingdom obviously called for a speedy remedy. The present government unfortunately had not grown up with the habits of the people. The English connection was begun among them by the worst of all conquests, one that was incomplete and partial. At different times the invaders made occasional progress; and renewed hostilities kept alive the flame of animosity.

His lordship then went into an historical disquisition of the progress of that country to civilization and its present state. The good consequences of Union would quickly appear, in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian Protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a Protestant imperial parliament; and the anxiety of the Catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature. A free admission of the Catholics into the Irish parliament might lead to a subversion of its constitution; but all fear of their preponderancy would vanish under a general legislature, as they then would be far outnumbered by the Protestants. The animosities of these rival parties would be allayed; and a tranquillity which Ireland

had rarely enjoyed would be the pleasing result. He then touched upon the real point in dispute. It was absurd to suppose, that the independence of Ireland would be sacrificed in the event of an Union. It would still remain, and even derive fresh vigour from being consolidated with the proudest and most solid independence that ever was enjoyed. Before the Union which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were, in fact, less independent than when they afterwards composed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this Union, each kingdom had become more independent of foreign nations, and more independent, if he could so speak, of human events; each had become more powerful, and had increased in prosperity. In like manner, if this legislative Union should take place, no individual would suffer in dignity, rank, or condition; but, in a national view, all would receive an addition. When the Union with Scotland was in agitation, loud clamours arose against it; but time had shewn, that they were ill-founded. It was promotive of the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and, as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, in consequence of an union with that country, so, he was persuaded, a similar measure would operate with respect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to Union, than that both countries were assailed by a common enemy, whose aim was to destroy Great Britain by making Ireland the medium of that mischief. Before the Union with Scotland, it was also the aim of the French to render that country subservient to their insidious designs. At present, the chief hope of resistance to the tyrannical power of France seemed to rest on Great Britain; and Ireland, in her weak and disordered state, could look to this country alone for support. Her independence was essentially involved in her connection with Britain; and, if she should shake off that tie, she would fall under the French yoke.

His lordship now moved the first resolution, and intimated, that he should afterwards request the house to vote an address favourable to the adjustment of a complete Union.

Earl Fitzwilliam declined an ample discussion of the subject, because he deemed the agitation of it unseasonable. It would tend to inflame dissension, and impair the strength and vigour of the empire. The rebellion in Ireland had arisen from a disunion between the different ranks of the community, and a mixture of religious and political animosity. The same causes had long been productive of evil; but it was not probable, that a measure repugnant to the feelings of the majority of the nation would operate as a remedy. If the evils of the country, as some alleged, arose from a separate legislature, would an Union anni-

hilate the British influence, which prevailed in that legislature? Would it not still be paramount after the conjunction of the two parliaments?

Upon the subject of the distinctions between the orders, would they be remedied by an incorporated Union? Had the noble lord said any thing to induce the house to believe, that these distinctions would be relieved by an Union? He had heard, indeed; something of an insinuation thrown out. But had the house, or the people of Ireland, any thing of greater weight than that insinuation? If it were meant to conciliate the Catholics and the lower orders of people, and that was to be done by an incorporated Union, it would first be necessary to shew them how much they would be benefited by it. Many persons, who were amongst the brightest ornaments of the state, were at present shut out of the legislature. Who would tell him, that the Protestant interest would be endangered by the admission of a Catholic lord in that house: yet this, with all the niggard jealousy, fit only for the darkest minds, was refused. Did any one at that time of day believe, that the family of the Stuarts would be supported by the Catholics? And yet the benches of the house were bare of those, who, in point of birth-right, had as much right to a seat in the house as any of their lordships. The noble lord had said, that the tests required in the army of Ireland, and in the army of England, were different. They were so. In Ireland they had admitted the Catholics into the army; in England they were excluded. Would the Catholics then be conciliated by getting into a more narrow-minded legislature? An incorporated Union did not promise that which they required: it put them rather at a greater distance. The whole arguments of the noble lord tended to shew, that both countries, when incorporated, would be stronger and better. But the inconveniences, stated as likely to arise from a separate legislature, had existed from the most ancient times. It was not from 1782 only, but long before that period, that all acts of imperial concern had been done by the Irish parliament. In the declaration of war in 1778 and 1757, their lordships would find, that his majesty had communicated such declarations to the Irish parliament. They had the power of deliberating upon it, and of course, as the noble lord had said properly, of deciding. The house then had the experience of ages, that the dangers apprehended from a separate legislature had not arisen. Why, then, it was next to be considered, whether this were the proper time for an Union. On the part of Great Britain he would say.... Do you wish to introduce into the British parliament the rebellion of Ireland? Do you wish to introduce the representatives of Ireland.... Representatives elected by the free electors of Ireland?

Oh! no, no, by British bayonets. By such, should there be a dissolution under such auspices must the general election be carried on, with an army not only in possession of the sword, but having the law in its disposal. Could Great Britain then have any thing but the representatives of an army? Was this the body which their lordships desired to have? Was this the period, in which it was wished to introduce such representatives?

His lordship said he should now proceed to state something personal to himself, and for the mention of which, he had to apologize to their lordships. A representation of the circumstances, under which he went to Ireland had been given, and it was upon that point, that he begged to give some explanation. "I have understood (said his lordship), that it has been stated "in another place, that during my administration in Ireland, I "was never required to retract what I had been directed by "government to propose. If it has been stated, that I never "received orders to bring forward the question of Catholic "emancipation on the part of government, I admit that state "ment to be true. But in justification of the part I took at that "period, (and in my conscience I believe the events that oc- "curred have led to the evils that now exist, and have stamped "the doom of that ill-fated country) it is necessary to these "statements I should add a short history of the transaction. "Yielding to the argument of not wishing to entangle govern- "ment in difficulties upon the subject at that period, I admit, "that under orders clearly understood by me, not to give rise "to or bring forward the question of Catholic emancipation on "the part of government, I assumed the government of Ire- "land. But in yielding to this argument, I entered my protest "against resisting the question, if it should be brought forward "from any other quarter: and I made most distinct declara- "tions, that in case of its being so brought forward, it should "receive my full support. With these declarations I assumed "the government of Ireland. This I state upon my honour. I "should not have introduced it, had I not deemed it necessary "to give this explanation."

Lord Grenville observed, in reply, that the noble earl admitted, that he went over with orders not to bring forward the Catholic question: but he had no recollection of any such protest and declaration, as were alluded to by the noble earl. Where was the paper? Earl Fitzwilliam replied, he was sorry the noble lord should not have it in his recollection, that he entered his protest, not on paper, but in his presence, against assuming the government of Ireland but under the circumstance, that if the measure

should be brought forward from any other quarter, he should give it his full support.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said, that he most cordially concurred in every thing that was asserted by the noble earl in favour and in praise of the Roman Catholics. He must observe, however, that this subject had no relation to the question immediately before the house, or to the situation of the Irish Roman Catholics, though, indeed, the adoption of the proposed Union might ultimately tend to do the Roman Catholics the justice they deserved. But now, as to a large and general question, he was by no means surprised that at first sight it was objected to as improper to be discussed at the present moment. Most undoubtedly, such a measure should be the work of peace and of time ; it should be the result of dispassionate judgment and of calm consideration. It was not, however, the first question to be examined ; there were other questions, the consideration of which should precede that of the Union ; and one of them was, whether it was possible for the affairs of Ireland to go on as they were governed ; the other, if an Union were to take place, what should be the nature of that Union. He enumerated the most remarkable events of the Irish history from the year 1767 ; and observed upon the case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that his posthumous attainder was an act of flagrant tyranny. From the late prevalence of disorder and calamity, he was confident, that such a government could not much longer subsist. The evils of the country required a speedy remedy ; and an union promised a more efficacious cure than any other measure, which could be devised. It was at all times desirable, at that indispensable. The danger to which the British dominions were exposed rendered such a step necessary, to obviate irreparable mischief or prevent total ruin. The Orange and the Green, the Dissenter and the Catholic ; the Dissenter, Catholic, and Churchman, when attacked by a common enemy, called out by instinct for an Union betwixt each other. What ought the three kingdoms, when menaced by an inveterate and powerful foreign enemy, what must they do but unite, or be divided and crushed ?

He then adverted to the proceedings of the year 1782, not from an idea of connection between that topic and the subject under discussion, but because frequent reference had been made to that settlement in the debates of both parliaments. Its authors, he said, had no idea of effecting a legislative union ; nor did they by any means declare against such a scheme.

In pointing out the chief requisites* of an union, he mentioned

* The noble Marquis referred to a pamphlet of Dean Tucker, which he observed in few pages contained more sense, as well as more patriotism upon this subject, than the many volumes that had been written upon it.

the necessity of consolidating the armies of the two countries;* for, unless there should be such an union of the military establishments as might afford an opportunity of saying with truth that there was only one army, it might be said, with regard to the affairs of the British empire, "Chaos is come again." The navy also should be one, furnished by the united zeal of the whole community; for it would resemble patch-work, if one part of the empire should supply a ship and a half, another a quarter, and a third a different quota. There should, at the same time, be only one system of law. Commerce was the next point to be considered; and this ought to be on an equal footing in both countries. The concerns of finance ought also to be assimilated: and, in short, the union, to be effective, ought to be substantial and complete. Some might say, that most of these points were already gained; but, as they were in danger of being lost by the jealousy of the two nations, he wished to render them permanent by an Union.

There was one point which was by no means settled, and which ought to be well settled before any Union could be of any avail....that was, the disposition of the people of Ireland. He knew not how far they might misunderstand their true interests, nor to what violence they might be led: upon this subject it was manifest that ministers had misled themselves; they were ignorant of the dispositions of the parliament of Ireland; for, if they had thought they would have been out-voted, they would not have brought the subject forward; but since it was clear, that if they knew so little of the parliament, they must know very little of the disposition of the people of Ireland of other descriptions. With regard to the Catholics, they were now in a state of irritability and vexation: their emancipation was a thing, which it was vain to attempt to stop; it was too late to try. They crawled upon all fours; they had been allowed to stand upon two: and it was idle to think that they would not look their governors in the face. The thing was gone by: it was silly to say, they were sorry that any thing was done for the Catholics; they ought to rejoice at it, and cheerfully finish all they had begun upon that subject. There was nothing to fear from it.

Those who thought there was, ought to look at the condition of the Pope....ought to look at the state of France; they would then see that there was no fear from any body of men, on account of the religion which they professed. That species of deception was gone. "The question, (said the noble marquis) is not what religion we shall have, but whether you shall be permitted to

* See what has been before said upon the inconveniency of the effects of the existing laws relative to the army.

“have any? It is not whether this, or that, religion shall be destroyed? Under this situation of things, every good man is called upon to join the standard of Jesus Christ....keep the religion of Jesus Christ....any religion is better than none: at all events unite to oppose and keep from entering among you those who have no religion, and who are enemies to all.”

A member, whom he did not know personally, (Mr. Dobbs) but whose speeches in the Irish house he admired, had said of the people of Ireland, “treat them fairly and justly, avow at once your object, and if it be just, I will pledge myself for their acquiescence.” He would add to the speech of that sensible man, and say, do not come forward with your hesitating, “perhaps,” or, “it may be,” or, “we will consider,” or any such ambiguity, but come boldly forward at once, and tell them sincerely what you intend doing. Speak to them as men that are free, and determined to be free. In all the affairs of life sincerity has succeeded nine times out of ten; and although the mass of the people of Ireland were to be pitied for want of education, yet he knew, from the experience of forty years, that liberality was never ill requited by them.

There ought to be no tricking, no intrigue, in their proceedings; let them gain their point by manly and honourable dealing, not procure success by corruption, or enforce acquiescence by terror.

The present was an awful period....the contest was serious and alarming. If wisdom should not interpose, a rupture might arise between the rich and the poor, calamitous to both parties, but more particularly to the latter. The greatest prudence and the most vigilant caution were necessary to secure the British empire amidst the convulsions of neighbouring states. It was his earnest wish that great Britain and Ireland might stand like two rocks in the sea unmoved by storms, and that the inhabitants of both islands might form the most cordial and complete union for the preservation of property, law, order, morality and religion.

Earl Camden spoke chiefly in defence of his own administration of Ireland. He denied that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was productive of disorder or disaffection, and affirmed that the rigorous proceedings of the government were rendered necessary by that seditious spirit which existed independently of the Catholic question. He declared, that all the severities imputed to his administration, were preceded by acts of outrage, of insurrection, or of rebellion. He allowed, that his conduct in adopting active and vigorous measures, and apprehending some of the leaders, did accelerate the rebellion; but, as the same steps facilitated its suppression, he did not think that he could justly be blamed.

He then pronounced his decided opinion in favour of an Union for the benefit of both countries. There was one part of this subject, upon which he could not speak but with great delicacy, and that was, with respect to the Irish parliament. He had upon every occasion during his residence in that country, observed the energy and vigour of the parliament of that country; but still he felt himself bound to say, that he thought a better form of government necessary for Ireland, and therefore it was that he should give his assent to this measure.

The Marquis Townshend promised to vote for the measure; but he was apprehensive that every attempt to render the Irish nation happy, would be inefficacious, unless a due obedience to the laws should be enforced by resident magistrates....unless the itinerant Catholic priests should be prevented from giving absolution for offences, the stewards, and other agents of the landlords be checked in their career of oppression, and the morals of the lower classes of the people be improved by the care of their superiors.

Lord Clifton (Earl of Darnley in Ireland) declared his preference of a legislative Union to any other mode of connection, but doubted the practicability of the measure. The English, in general, he said, knew little more of the affairs of Ireland than of those of China; in the present case, they represented what was almost the universal sense of the nation as the voice of cabal or the cry of faction. The voluntary assent of the Irish, he feared, could not be obtained; and coercion would be highly impolitic and unjust. He therefore wished that the scheme might be suspended.

Lord Hobart,* while he approved the conduct, which the Irish parliament had pursued for many years, was convinced that a legislature, constituted as that was, could not give satisfaction to the people. His meaning was, that a Protestant parliament could never satisfy a nation, of which three-fourths were Catholics. On this ground his determination to support the question of a legislative Union principally rested.

Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira in Ireland) declared that no one would more heartily concur in the proposed measure than himself, if it should meet the approbation of the greater part of the Irish community: but, as it had excited general disgust and vigorous opposition, he was convinced of the danger of prosecuting the scheme. Even if the Irish parliament should be disposed to adopt it, the disinclination of the people ought to have been deemed a sufficient ground for relinquishing it: otherwise we might nourish in delusive security a secret fire, which might ultimately consume the vitals of the empire. If he should ad-

* Now secretary of state for the war department.

mit the probability of a change in the disposition of the people, he must contend, as the measure was to be suspended, that it was at least imprudent to pledge the British parliament to specific resolutions, which might be superseded by the future relative situation of the countries. Was it to be supposed, that the tenour of the resolutions would alter the sentiments of the Irish nation with regard to a measure, which they had contemplated in the aggregate with such distaste? Were the provisions judiciously calculated to promote such an effect? By one of the resolutions the test act was to be still operative against the Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland. Did not this go to establish a strong jealousy, if not estrangement, in the breasts of such a majority of that community, whose confidence and concurrence were so desirable? The earl had predicted, that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on, and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet. That, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland: it was solely the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government, as much in contempt of that very constitution as in defiance of every principle of policy, that had hitherto been current among men.

He animadverted on several parts of the speech of Lord Grenville, particularly on that, in which the secretary had said, that a case might occur in which the parliament of Ireland might refuse to pay the troops, and seemed to think that his position on this ground of argument was strengthened by the difference of the test taken by the military body of Ireland from that, which was taken by the troops of England: but a man might be a brave soldier, and a trusty supporter of his country's cause, even though he should believe that there were seven sacraments; in fact, there was no separate regular Irish army; his majesty might call away any regiment to this country, and replace it by another from England, without any explanation to the legislature of Ireland. There was, indeed, a stipulation that Ireland should have a certain number of troops for her defence; and those troops she engaged to pay. But the secretary argued that she might refuse to pay them. So might the British parliament refuse to pay the army in this island. The question, by which the house ought to form an opinion respecting the expediency of bringing forward those resolutions, was not what the Irish ought to think, but what they did really think upon the subject. Whether justly or not, it appeared, they did think the demand upon Ireland was nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament, the blood, the labour, the wealth and resources of the people. And under what circumstances did the mass of the Irish nation come to weigh such

a supposed demand? Disgusted by recent outrages, still smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by threats of continued infliction, how was it to be supposed, that they could meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties by which they had been mischievously told, all their past sufferings were occasioned? For it was one of the most serious evils of the late troubles, that those who were trampling upon the feelings, the properties, and the lives of their fellow creatures, disguised their own passions under the profession, that such acts of violence were necessary for the preservation of English connection; thereby falsely representing English connection, which ought to be the source of every blessing to Ireland, as the spring from which all their calamities had flowed. The Irish government stigmatized with the name of rebellion that which was only indignation at some unconstitutional measures; and, having once made the charge against its opponents, thence deduced the right and the necessity of abandoning the paths of the law, and of making its own conception of expediency the exclusive rule of conduct towards the multitude. The legislature readily lent its aid in passing the most severe penal statutes, and these even their angry and vindictive ministry soon refused to abide by. Any thing that bore the semblance of law was too tardy for their impatient spirit. Forgetting that the corrective conduct of a government ought to be sober as well as firm, dignified and conciliating as well as vigorous, they even seemed to affect the peevishness of individual animosity; and in that temper they proceeded with eagle swiftness and more than eagle fierceness to pass a sweeping condemnation of the whole people of Ireland. Mercy, justice, and policy, were left far behind, as unprofitable associates.

He did not accuse Earl Camden of having given directions for such horrible outrages; but hinted, that the viceroy, being taught by the cabinet to believe that extraordinary rigour was necessary, had connived at excesses which arose from that system. If it were true, that so great a proportion of the adult and effective population of the country as 500,000 had engaged in the traitorous conspiracy, it was the greatest censure that could be passed on any government. When to the misconduct of the British ministers he laid the evils and the miseries of Ireland, it was to their misinformation and ignorance of the state of the country, not to deliberate inhumanity that he ascribed them. He trusted, that the time would soon arrive, when remorse would take place of apathy, and when they would earnestly wish that their system of conduct had uniformly enforced on their servants the necessity of respecting with awful veneration the rights of humanity.

Lord Grenville had imputed the rebellion in Ireland chiefly to the propagation of French principles ; but the effect of these, without ministerial misconduct, would, said the earl, have been inconsiderable. It was remarkable, that the noble secretary should suppose mere barbarians, whom he represented as incapable of comprehending the meaning of Catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform, to be fully competent to the admission of ideas respecting the principles and forms of government, and the sovereignty of the people. Of that sovereignty his lordship observed, that it did not, as some had ignorantly or invidiously asserted, imply the authority or the power of the mob. The misconstruction of the phrase had produced much mischief in that country, by aiding the views of certain zealots, who from the most malignant motives, confounded the maintenance of constitutional doctrines with the support of jacobinical tenets. The principle, properly understood, was opposed to the odious doctrine of divine indefeasible right. It was not plebeian but national sovereignty ; the rights of the people, not of the populace were the basis of the English constitution.

Lord Holland, though he did not consider the adjustment of 1782 as a bar to a new agreement, disapproved the proposal of an Union at a time when it excited strong disgust in that kingdom. The policy of the measure, at any time, might be doubtful ; the experiment would be hazardous, and the consequences might be highly detrimental to the interests of both countries.

Lord Mulgrave thought it highly expedient to examine the propositions, and record them as the deliberate offers of this country, which would induce the Irish parliament to consider the subject with coolness and complacency, instead of viewing it with prejudice.

The Earl of Carlisle said, the discussion was expedient and seasonable. A knowledge of the terms might allay the ferment of the Irish nation ; the insinuation of force was disclaimed by the chief members of the cabinet ; and there was no reason to apprehend, that they would ever have recourse to it.

The Earl of Westmoreland was induced, by some recent parliamentary elections in Ireland, to believe that many of the opponents of the Union had begun to think favourably of it, and that there was a chance of obtaining at least a patient hearing of the terms, which, he trusted, would recommend themselves by their beneficial tendency.

The Duke of Portland admitted, that though he deemed the adjustment in 1782, a sufficient remedy, at the time, for the grievances of Ireland, he did not regard it as superseding a legislative incorporation or any other measure, which might be devised by the same or by subsequent ministers.

The house agreed to the resolutions without a division ; and a day was fixed for proposing an address on the subject.

As soon as Lord Grenville had moved, that an address should be presented to his majesty with the resolutions, Lord Auckland rose to discuss the subject at large. As many of the former arguments were used, by different members who spoke in the subsequent debates upon the Union, the report only of what appears new, will be given. He observed, that, even if Ireland had a complete equality with Britain in extent, opulence and strength, yet the existence of separate and independent legislatures, with one executive power, would render an union desirable, rather than degrading or detrimental to either. Immediately previous to the attainment of a supposed freedom of constitution and trade in 1782, that kingdom was subordinate to this realm both in legislation and judicature : it had no more than the name of the British constitution, the semblance and mockery of a free government. Even after the Irish freedom, as it was called, had taken place, their government was still founded in the pretensions of a small part of the community to a monopoly of the representation, patronage, and resources of the whole, and could not therefore contribute to the prosperity, tranquillity, or safety of the nation.

The remaining part of his lordship's speech chiefly related to the commercial advantages, which would flow to Ireland from the Union.

It was not to be expected that capitals and commercial credit should be transferred to a country struggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and disturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt at any time adverse connections and interests ? Nothing less than Union could satisfy these questions. They could not rest on the flimsy and undefined protestation so often repeated, and so imperfectly realized, that, " the affections of Ireland were inalienable, and that both kingdoms should stand and fall together." Let the Union take place, and all commercial distinctions and political jealousies would be annihilated ; for there could be no competition between two parts of the same kingdom, having incorporated interests directed by one legislature.

The Bishop of Llandaff, had so long ago as the year 1785, intimated his opinion to the late Duke of Rutland, that he and his friend the minister would gain immortal honour, if, instead of the propositions which were then under discussion, they could accomplish, by honourable means and upon equitable terms, an Union of the two kingdoms ; but his grace had answered, that the man who should venture to bring forward a scheme of such a nature at that time would have been *tarred and feathered*.

Whether the repugnance to the measure were then general, or were confined to the leading men of the country, the prelate did not know; but was fully convinced of the policy and utility of the scheme at any time. It would enrich Ireland, and would not impoverish Great Britain. The consolidation of Ireland with this country would render it the strongest empire in Europe. If the lands in Great Britain and Ireland should be well cultivated, as in the event of an Union they probably would be, they would maintain a population of thirty millions, six millions of which number would be capable of bearing arms; and this population, in case of necessity, might afford one million to be in arms, without distressing agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Then we might with safety despise the politics of the continent, and without contributing our forces or our wealth, allow the princes of Europe to settle among themselves the equilibrium of despotic power, while, conscious of the blessings of liberty, we must lament that despotism should exist in any part of the world.

With regard to the Catholics, some contended, that, as they formed the most numerous class of the community, they had a right to some kind of ecclesiastical establishment, and to an exemption from political disabilities. This point was rendered difficult by the distribution of property, which was in the hands of a small minority, who would have no interest in, and would derive no benefit from such establishment. The point was of great delicacy and importance; but, the sooner it should be agitated, the better. In the mean time he would recommend to both parties the advice given by a father of the church on another occasion, that both should give up little things in order to secure great ones, tranquillity and peace.

The link which now held the two countries together was very imperfect; it was the sameness of one of the branches of the legislature in both. This link, by what had been foreseen, and what was unforeseen, might be endangered, and the interests of Ireland might be exposed to hazard; but, when three parts of the legislature of Ireland should be incorporated with the legislature of this country, the failure of the link would be impossible, except in an event dreadful even to contemplate, the absolute destruction of the whole government and constitution.

In urging the necessity of close connection, he affirmed, that Ireland, as a shoot from the stem of Great Britain, had brought forth fruit; but that, as a separate plant, it would neither strike its roots downward, nor spread its branches above; it would bear no fruit for at least an hundred years. It must either be shaded by the British oak, or it must be poisoned by the pestilential vapour of the tree of French liberty....that tree which had brought

forth no fruit but the apples of Sodom. That great states should allow the smaller to enjoy their independence unmolested ; was more to be wished than expected. Ireland could not stand alone. In the present state of Europe she must be united either to England or to France.

Fully convinced of the beneficial tendency of an Union, he looked forward with satisfaction to the change, which it would produce in Ireland. English capital would seek employment in Ireland, and diffuse improvement and wealth. The bogs would be converted into fields covered with smiling harvests ; the barren mountains would be covered with cattle ; mines would be wrought, and canals would unite the most distant parts of the country ; the old sources of wealth would be extended ; new ones would be discovered ; and the inhabitants of Ireland, now poor, idle, and discontented, would be rendered rich, industrious, and happy. This change must be the work of time ; and posterity would bless the wisdom and firmness of the parliaments of two countries, which effected so great a plan, and generously superior to partial views and selfish considerations, coalesced into one for mutual interest.

Union was a contract that ought to be founded upon free consent, arising from a persuasion of utility. He was afraid that Ireland was not yet persuaded of the advantages, which she might derive from it, and that she had not taken that comprehensive view of the subject, which would be quickly followed by her full consent. In such a case this nation and the parliament of this country ought to shew that they were not actuated by any narrow and selfish views, and that they disdained to employ any corrupt influence for the purpose of obtaining that concurrence, which ought to be the result of conviction. At the same time, they ought to deprecate all opposition arising from partial views, local interests, selfish considerations, or what, with liberal minds, might have weight no less powerful, the love of popular applause : they ought to shew, that they respected the independence of the Irish parliament, and, that they were ready to acquiesce in that decision, which, after due deliberation, it should embrace. Such alone was the course suited to the high character of the British nation ; and such, indeed, was the course which the legislature had avowed its determination to follow. This proceeding alone was consonant with eternal justice and with the dignity of the country, fitted to conciliate the affections of the Irish, a high-spirited but warm-hearted people.

In the present contest, he said, all our firmness and energy were required. France was supported in every country but her own, no less by the sword than by her pestilent doctrines, and by

the corrupt ambition of the desperate.' Armed with these instruments of destruction, she went on, spreading desolation wherever she appeared, crushing in the dust equally all civil government and all ecclesiastical establishment. When he contemplated this hideous monster at a distance, it was with horror ; near, he viewed it with anxiety, but without despondence, trusting, that under the protection of Providence, this country would be able to meet the danger. No human means, he was convinced, could contribute more to this end than a liberal, free and equitable legislative Union between Britain and Ireland.

Lord Minto made a long, argumentative, and elaborate speech in favour of Union.

The two countries seemed to him to approach each other by an irresistible attraction, by a species of political gravitation : no human obstruction, he thought, would long avail to keep them asunder ; and, when they should once be in contact, another law of nature, a principle of adhesion and tenacity, would hold them together, and eternally cement and consolidate their Union. But, though the event thus seemed to be predestined, the best means of accelerating it ought not to be neglected.

For the illustration of his argument, he had recourse to the inconveniences and evils of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy which led to the establishment of the English monarchy ; and the salutary effects of the change appeared in the ultimate preservation of the kingdom from Danish conquest, by which the divided states would otherwise have been enslaved.

He acknowledged the loyalty, prudence, honour, and spirit of a great part of the Hibernian nation, while he lamented that these qualities had not been able to prevent an extensive conspiracy for the avowed purpose of separation. As this object had occasioned a civil war, the evils of imperfect connection were at their height ; and the two governments were called upon, by the great danger of their countries, to snatch the people from the precipice, on which they stood, and conduct them into that path, which had led the Welsh and Scots to " more than safety," to dignity, prosperity, and happiness.

Referring to the practical inducements which might recommend a legislative Union, his lordship divided into positive and negative the advantages derivable from it to Great Britain. To the former class, he said, belonged the real and effective force, which would accrue from it, in a naval and military view ; and, in using the latter term, he chiefly alluded to the advantage of avoiding, in times of contest and of war, those embarrassments and distractions which rendered Ireland, instead of a resource, " only a dead weight hung round the neck of British exertion,"

He did not say that Ireland would inevitably be lost without an Union ; but he feared that we should have no security for her preservation, if the bonds of connection should not speedily be drawn much closer. With such apprehensions he deemed it not unseasonable to contemplate the consequences of a total separation of Ireland from Britain, and of the probable attendant on such a rupture, the alliance of the former state with the French. As an Irish democratical republic, or rather anarchy, would be the first result of the separation, we should immediately feel the disastrous effects of such a change. Those who ought to be our friends would then be our enemies ; our western coasts would be greatly endangered ; our trade would be injured ; and a variety of evils would follow, all of which, if the French should become absolute masters of the new republic, would be alarmingly aggravated.

He then enumerated some of the consequences, which would result to Ireland from the separation. As it could not be supposed that the nation would be unanimous in rejecting British connection for the purpose of fraternising with the French, the event, he said, would not take place before one party, now the strongest, should have been subdued. But submission to force would not change the mind ; and the republican rulers of Ireland would find, that the British troops, when employed in the rescue of that country from the Gallic yoke, would be seconded by a great portion of the inhabitants. Hence would arise the complicated miseries of foreign and internal war. The charges of such a contest would fall with oppressive weight on a people hitherto protected in a great measure by Britain ; and the insulated trade and wealth of Ireland would not furnish a sufficiency of men or of money for such importunate demands.

He would not detain their lordships by describing the extent or the violence of those passions, which now inflamed and exasperated both parts of the Irish nation against each other. Every one knew the firm and immovable basis, on which their mutual hatred stood, the irreconcilable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. In this frame and temper of mind, however towards each other, one of those portions of Ireland claimed and exercised what was felt by both to be a species of dominion over the other. It was hardly too much to say, that there were two nations in Ireland ; the one sovereign, the other subject. The sovereign class or cast of Irishmen claimed their sovereignty as of right, and grounded it on an old title of conquest, confirmed, as they contended by possession, acquiescence, and prescription. They claimed also the federal support of Great Britain in maintaining that dominion, on the solemn grounds of fidelity to implied compact, compensation

for sacrifices, and reward for services. They shewed a close alliance and identity of views between themselves and the English interest in Ireland at all times ; and they relied as strongly on recent and even on present exertions in a common cause, as on the uniform tenour of their ancient services. In a word, they called at once upon the honour and gratitude of Great Britain, and supported that appeal by a stream and series of facts. But he never could admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another part of the same nation, to the extent and to the purpose claimed in Ireland, as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right. That which was wrong on one side could never become a right on the other. Neither possession, nor prescription, nor any limitation of time which are supposed to cure the vices of bad titles, were at all applicable to the case of perpetually subsisting, and, as it were, renovating wrongs, especially such as affected the political rights of great numbers of men. If possession then would not constitute this singular right, which is claimed in wrong, as between the parties themselves, neither could it be improved by the interests, the engagements, or the obligations of a third party ; he could not see how the *jus tertii* as it might be called, of England, could affect the relative claims of these two Irish nations, or of these two parts of the Irish nation. The Catholics of Ireland claimed not only political equality in the government of their country, a claim in which his lordship sympathized with them ; but they were thought to entertain, and to nourish yet more fondly and anxiously, claims on the *property* of Protestants, the present possession of which they treated as mere usurpation ; and these claims were of no trifling extent. If to the physical force already possessed by the Catholic body, were added (by any revolution) the advantages of political power, and the weight and influence which belonged to the authority of government and legislation, some danger might accrue to the property, the establishment, and even the personal security of the Protestants in Ireland ; and hence arose an alarming dilemma. The Protestants could not be supported in that ascendancy which seemed necessary even for their protection, without derogating from what might appear to be a natural right of the Catholics. The Catholics could not be supported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that ascendancy, which equality of rights must draw to the larger body, and which from that moment must expose the Protestants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such seemed to be the practical difficulties in the way of abstract justice, while the government of Ireland continued merely local. An Irish parliament, in which the ascendancy was either Protes-

tant or Catholic (and it could not but lie on one side or the other), might be expected still, he feared to gore and lacerate the country, by one or other of the horns of that dilemma: and he saw no perfect remedy for Irish division, and its lamentable consequences, while these two enraged and implacable opponents were still shut up together, and still enclosed within the very theatre, on the very *arena* of their ancient and furious contention. That divided and double condition of the Irish people required something of an imperial *aula*, a legislature founded on a broader and more liberal basis, to administer impartial laws to all, and to reconcile security with justice. While one of these parties must judge the other, in which ever hand the fasces might be placed, there was reason to expect only violence in the suit, and, if not injustice, at least slow and imperfect justice in the decree. A strong conviction arose out of these considerations, that the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland would, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, constitute a better legislature, and a more perfect because a more impartial parliament for all Ireland, than any representation of a minor part or section of that country, in a separate local parliament, ever could. Laws therefore beneficial to the mass of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general prosperity and happiness, must be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, interests, and passions, would not divert the straight and equal current of legislation, than from an Irish parliament, where these stumbling-blocks must for ever bend or impede its course. In the united parliament right may be done unaccompanied by wrong. Irish Catholics might be invested with their political capacities, without the slightest danger to Protestant establishment or property. These, on the contrary, must acquire a tenfold and hundredfold security in the Protestant parliament, and the genuine Protestant ascendancy of the united kingdom. The Protestant church and property might be secured, without perpetuating the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation.

For these reasons, he advised the insertion of an explicit article in the treaty or act of Union, providing for the just claims of the Catholic Irish; but he was not strenuous or decisive in his recommendation; for he added, that, "if any political peculiarities of the present time should render it impracticable to engross these wholesome provisions in the written treaty itself,"* he would rather repress his wishes for the immediate

* It appears that the British ministers, in order to avoid any fresh difficulties or delays being thrown into the negotiation for Union, resolved not to introduce any stipulation for the Catholics, reserving that measure to be brought

accomplishment of this desirable end, than "expose this great transaction to needless and unprofitable hazard by unseasonable pertinacity or impatience," and would be content to leave it to

before the imperial parliament, from whose justice and liberality they confidently expected concurrence and support. That the British ministers were sincere in their intentions of bringing forward and confident in their expectations of carrying the question of Catholic emancipation in an imperial parliament, is manifest from certain written communications made by them to some of the leading persons of the Catholic body about the time of their retiring from office, which were to the following effect.

"The leading part of his majesty's ministers finding unsurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time; they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those, which they could look to from any other quarter; they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire and of many, who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects: and the Catholics will feel that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, that he must at all times repress with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

"Under these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct, that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.

"The Sentiments of a sincere Friend (i. e. Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.

"If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would at the same time feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

"On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description.

"The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy and afterwards to Lord Fingall on the same day, by Marquis Cornwallis, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales, in the beginning of May, 1801, shortly before his departure from the government of Ireland, and before the arrival of Lord Hardwicke, his successor. His excellency desired

the mature deliberation and impartial judgment of the imperial legislature.

The Scots were soon reconciled to the Union of their kingdom with South Britain, and their patriotic feelings expanded to the whole compass of the island ; and they did not consider themselves as degraded by their political amalgamation with the other natives of Britain.

If a separate political existence be contrary, nay fatal, to the real interests of the people of Ireland, and if a perfect incorporation and union with the British empire must be productive of security, aggrandizement, and happiness to Ireland, such an Union should, on that single but decisive ground of great and permanent utility, be the first and fondest wish of every Irish heart. If the Irish rejected the offers of Britain, according to every moral probability, the alternative would be union or separation ; union or ruin ; union with Great Britain, or slavery to France. If the proposal should not be accepted, Ireland would not probably long remain as she then was ; her distinctions, her dignity, her independence, would expire ; her political extinction would be accomplished ; she would become subject to the degrading yoke of the general tyrant and task-master of Europe.

Viewing Ireland as a separate kingdom, it was impossible to disannex from it the idea of its actual and necessary dependance, subordination, and inferiority to Great Britain. The king of Great Britain was, in virtue of that crown, king also of Ireland ; and the whole executive government of the latter realm was administered by a viceroy, who was appointed in effect by a British minister, and responsible only to the British tribunals. To these instances of subordination it might be added, that the legislative functions of the sovereign of Ireland could be performed only under the great seal of Britain. Thus the Irish parliament was left dependant for the validity of every one of its legislative acts, first on the chancellor of England, and, through his responsibility, on that very parliament of England, an equal participation in the authority of which it had been lately contended was degrading to Ireland. Another circumstance denoting inferiority was the following : " Ireland must take her part in all the wars of Great Britain : she must bear her share of their burthens, and must incur all their hazards : she may lose a province, or may become herself a province of the enemy ; yet she cannot, by the utmost success of the war, acquire

" they should be discreetly communicated to the bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers. They appeared, nevertheless, in the English prints soon afterwards, and were copied into the Irish papers."

“an acre of new territory to the Irish dominion. Every acquisition made by the forces of the empire, however great her share may have been in the danger or exertion, accrues to the crown of Great Britain. Ireland claimed no sovereignty in any one of the foreign possessions or provinces of the British empire.” The Irish parliament had never asserted or conceived the right of legislating for any of the conquests of the king of England, that is to say, of the king of Ireland. Ireland had planted no Irish colonies, but had furnished planters to all those of Great Britain. He defined or at least described an independent sovereignty to be a state, which could make war and peace, which could acquire dominion by conquest, and which could plant colonies and establish foreign settlements? And he described a subordinate and dependant country to be one, which must contribute its quota to all the wars of a neighbouring kingdom, must incur all the risques of those wars, and partake in all their disasters, while all that was acquired by its success fell, like the lion’s share, to that country, with which it claimed to be co-ordinate and co-equal.

Ireland, in various instances, had a very small share of the dignity of independence. But, Union would place the two countries on a footing of perfect equality, would necessarily improve the independence and dignity of the inferior, which, no longer subordinate, would then fully participate in all the rights of sovereignty. As to the competency of parliament to adopt the plan, he observed, that the strong and emphatic title of omnipotence of parliament, was not merely a bold figure used by some writers on our government, but seemed to be literally and correctly descriptive of parliamentary supremacy, and of the unlimited sovereignty of the British legislature.

Other topics would have been discussed by Lord Minto, if he had not been conscious of prolixity in the investigation of former points. Having expressed his gratitude for the attention of the peers to his arguments in support of the expediency of the measure and of the competency of parliament to its execution, he concluded with praying for its speedy accomplishment.

Lord Boringdon and Lord Hay (Earl of Kinnoul in Scotland) argued on the same side. No one indeed spoke in opposition to the Union, though a protest against it were signed by the Lords Holland and King, and the Earl of Thanet.

The address being voted, a conference was holden with the commons on the following day; and the deputed lords then proposed, that it should be offered to the throne as the joint address of both houses.

Before the commons concurred in the address to the king, they once more brought the plan of Union to a fresh discussion,

On the 22d of April, when Mr. Pitt moved that the house should join in the address voted by the peers, Mr. Sylvester Douglass (now Lord Glenbervie) delivered a long harangue in favour of the Union.

Lord Sheffield spoke also on the same side. Making various commercial calculations with a view of promoting its success, he contended that an infusion of British capital and industry, of British arts and manufactures, would meliorate in every respect the condition of Ireland, but that without an Union such a communication could not be expected.

Sir Francis Burdet conceived Mr. Pitt a very unfit minister to bring the measure to a happy conclusion ; all his efforts, he thought, would inflame rather than heal the wounds of Ireland.

Mr. Buxton vindicated the premier from the censures thrown out by the Baronet. The miseries and calamities of Ireland could alone be imputed to those pestilential societies, of whose existence Sir Francis could not be ignorant.

Mr. Hawkins Browne and Major-General Loftus declared themselves friendly to an Union, though the former were doubtful of the expediency of introducing a hundred Irish members into the British House of Commons.

Lieutenant-General Fitzpatrick thought it unnecessary to vote the address, as an appeal to the crown upon the difference between the parliaments would argue a want of delicacy, and might be productive of a fatal discord and division.

Mr. Canping considered the refusal of an answer to a solemn message as a novel mode of showing respect to the crown, and did not regard such silence as more respectful to the Irish parliament. He asked, how the valuable right of impeachment could be exercised by an Irish parliament against the king's ministers in Great Britain, his proper and constitutional advisers in the affairs of Ireland. As to the power of limiting or altering the succession to the crown, Ireland was destitute of that power which Britain enjoyed ; and, indeed, the perfect equality and independence, which the parliament of that kingdom was now said to possess, and would resign in the event of an Union, did not appear to him to exist.

He took an opportunity of vindicating Mr. Pitt from the charge of having kindled the rebellion, for the purpose of bringing Ireland more completely under his yoke. He attributed the commotions principally to the influence of jacobinical doctrines, and ridiculed the absurdity of ascribing them to the recel of the Earl Fitzwilliam, or to the machinations and the conduct of the premier. He admitted, that no union but that of affection could be lasting or advantageous.

After some observations in favour of the settlement of 1782, from Lord William Russell, and renewed objections to its fina-

lity from Mr. Pitt, the address* was adopted by the commons; and, on the 26th, the sentiments of both houses on the subject were communicated in due form to his majesty.

Whilst the question of Union was pending in the British senate, that of Ireland continued to occupy itself in its other legislative concerns. Some very long and interesting debates took place upon Mr. Dobbs's motion for a commutation of tithes; upon the loyalists' claim bill, and on the rebel disqualification bill.† On the second reading of which on the 29th of March, Sir H. Langrishe expressed his disapprobation of the spirit of the bill, which he said had been brought in by the members for the city of Dublin, in conformity to the instructions of their constituents; but, as he did not profess to hold the corporation of Dublin in the same degree of respect with those gentlemen, he could not bring himself to approve of the principle on which it had been introduced. He considered the bill as tending to countenance an opinion that parliament was desirous of retracting the grant of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics; as interfering with the royal prerogative of pardoning crimes by an *ex post facto* law, and as taking away from those, who had

* The following was the form of the address.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in your majesty's message respecting the connection between this country and Ireland.

" We entertain a firm persuasion that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

" Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before your majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to your majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as your majesty, in your parental solicitude for the happiness of your people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to your parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of your majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire." 8 Parl. Eng. Deb. p. 542.

† The title of that bill was, for preventing persons, who had ever taken the Oath of the United Irishmen, from voting for members to serve in parliament.

been forced or deluded into rebellion every inducement to contrition and repentance. The particular provisions of the bill he thought equally objectionable; the bill ordained that an oath should be tendered, by which the elector should swear that he had never been an United Irishman or a rebel; thus making a man's own oath the proof, from which his guilt was to be established, and rendering him liable to a prosecution for high treason if he should take the oath. The provision, subjecting the person taking the oath falsely to the penalties of perjury, he considered perfectly innocent; as a man's guilt in this case would infer the previous guilt of high treason, and when he was hanged the punishment of the pillory would not be very injurious to him. He moved, "that the committal be postponed to "the 1st of June."

The bill was vehemently supported by Messrs. Ogle, J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan: The attorney general considered that to pass this bill would be to commit a breach of the covenant of pardon made with the country; it would, he said, involve in its grasp many innocent and deluded persons, whose return to loyalty was indubitable, but who in the early part of the system of United Irishmen, had entered into it from curiosity or from folly, and had retired the moment they perceived its wickedness; it would also involve all those United Irishmen, whose useful discoveries had enabled government to meet and baffle the dangers which threatened the country; and it would involve others, who without ill intention, but from ignorance, had been members of the Union. Gentlemen well knew, that

*Evil into the mind of God or man
Might come and go so unapproved as leaves
No stain behind.*

And this bill went to exclude them from a possibility of being restored to their former situation.

A division took place, and the bill was ordered for committal on the first of June (by which it was lost.)

On the 6th of April came before the house a matter of notoriety, very illustrative of the spirit, with which the late rebellion was according to some opinions checked, and according to others provoked.

Lord Matthew presented a petition from T. Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq. late high sheriff of the county of Tipperary, praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in suppression of the late rebellion, not justifiable in common law. Lord M. bore testimony to the conduct of Mr. F. which, he said from a local residence in the county, he had frequent opportunities of observing; that he was an extremely active, spirited, and meritorious magistrate, and a very principal mean of putting down rebellion, preventing escapes, and preserving the lives and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects.

The petition was received and read at the table. It set forth, that the petitioner had undertaken the office of high sheriff for the last year at the solicitation of the principal gentlemen of the county, with great hazard and inconvenience to himself, at a moment when the kingdom was menaced by invasion and rebellion, and that whole county organized for insurrection, and infested by United Irishmen, who held constant meetings, in co-operation with the plan of treason for subverting the state. That about the month of May, 1798, of the proclamation of martial law, the petitioner, at the head of a party of militia and yeomen, had been obliged to fight a body of rebels in that county, whom he caused to surrender; but finding it impossible to stop the progress of rebellion there, as in many other parts of the kingdom, or to discover the various and horrid plans intended by traitors for the destruction of his majesty's liege subjects, he had been reduced to the necessity, in many instances, under the advice of several most respectable magistrates and gentlemen of the county, when all offers of pardon and pecuniary reward had failed, to order corporal punishment of whipping to many persons, of whose guilt he had secret information from persons, whose names he could not publicly disclose, as many persons both before and since had been murdered for giving such information; and therefore, in order to encourage persons to give such information, the magistrates were publicly sworn to keep secret the names of informants. That in consequence of petitioner's exertions, in which he was obliged to do many acts not justifiable at common law, that county was saved from destruction. That for acts of notoriety done by him in suppression of rebellion, many actions had been brought, and many more threatened, at the instance of persons who had entered into subscription to support them. That two such actions had been lately had at the assizes of Clonmel, in both of which verdicts had been obtained against petitioner, one for words spoken, and the other for corporal punishment, inflicted publicly on the 29th of May, in the town of Clonmel, which was to have been attacked two days afterwards by 8000 rebels. The learned judge, who presided at said trials being of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information on oath of the ground, on which he acted, his case would not fall within the provisions of the indemnity act passed last session; but that the petitioner, not feeling himself justifiable to disclose in a public court of justice the nature of the information on which he had acted, and knowing that many of the informations, on which he had acted were in the possession of several generals and other officers, who had since been ordered out of the kingdom; that some of the persons who gave such informations had been since banished to foreign parts; and feeling he should be guilty of a breach of faith and duty in dis-

closing the names of his informants remaining in the kingdom, on whose informations secretly and confidentially given, he was induced to act as aforesaid, he did decline such disclosure. The petitioner therefore prayed, that, without exposing the persons who had given such information to the vengeance of their persecutors, he might be at liberty to have the same and the whole of his case investigated, and the truth thereof established in such manner as to the house should appear meet, so as that the state might receive no injury, and that the petitioner, and those under whose advice, assistance, and information he acted, might not be exposed to vexatious and ruinous proceedings at common law, and that honest men might not be deterred thereby from acting in perilous times for the safety of the state and protection of his majesty's loyal subjects.

Mr. Holmes rose to move, that the petition be referred to a committee, and bore testimony to the very meritorious conduct of the petitioner, who, by his vigilance, activity, firmness, and indefatigable exertions, had defeated machinations in that country, which had well-nigh overwhelmed the lives and properties of its loyal inhabitants. There was scarcely a man, on whom corporal punishment had been inflicted to extort confession, who did not acknowledge guilt, and discover wide-extended accompliceship in treason. Immense quantities of arms of every kind were discovered, and in consequence cart loads were daily brought into Clonmel from all quarters of the county. Under those important considerations, he thought the house in its wisdom and justice could not hesitate to give its protection to a man who had deserved so well of his country.

Mr. secretary Cooke fully concurred in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Holmes, and was enabled from his own knowledge to state, that the most essential services had been rendered to the state and to the country by Mr. Fitzgerald. Sunk in a dangerous security, the gentlemen of the county of Tipperary were wholly ignorant of the extensive system of organization, which prevailed in that county, when the activity, enterprise, and unwearied research of Mr. Fitzgerald developed a system of the most formidable treason, which would have been attended with consequences much more fatal and extensive, than in any other county in the kingdom.

A similar indolence and security had in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford suffered, and in some degree nurtured, treason, into open and terrible rebellion. Had the early, prompt, and vigorous activity, so happily manifested by Mr. Fitzgerald, been adopted in those ill-fated counties which he had mentioned, their principal inhabitants would not have lost their lives or their fortunes.

The attorney general bore testimony from official information, as well as from local knowledge of the very spirited and meritorious conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald, and he trusted the house would cheerfully accede to the prayer of his petition.

Honourable Mr. Yelverton said, he should be one of the last men to refuse indemnity or protection to any deserving magistrate or loyal man for acts warranted by justice or necessity, in putting down conspiracy or rebellion, but he could not sit silent and hear the falsehood attempted to be palmed on the house by this almighty sheriff, in the petition now on the table. The petition stated, that the judges who presided at that trial, who were Mr. justice Chamberlain and lord Yelverton, had given their opinion in point of law, that unless Mr. Fitzgerald could produce the information on oath, on which he could justify his flagellation of the plaintiff Wright, he could not come under the provisions of the Indemnity Act. No such thing was ever said by either of the judges. He was present at the trial, and not a single title of evidence had come out in defence of Mr. Fitzgerald, nor was even a pretence pleaded that could found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff Wright, to justify those unparalleled cruelties exercised upon him, for which the jury, a most respectable one, awarded 500*l.* damages, and which the learned judges declared ought to have been considerably more than the sum claimed.

With the permission of the house he would shortly state the facts, as they appeared on evidence of several most respectable witnesses, and from those facts he would appeal to the house, whether such sanguinary, wanton, and unparalleled cruelties were entitled to their sanction and indemnity?*

The action brought by Mr. Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood.

Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial; he went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being shewn into his presence, explained the purpose of his coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald drawing his sword, said, down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence. In vain did the poor man protest his innocence: in vain

* As much of this case is omitted as is contained in a former note.

did he implore trial on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald sentenced him first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys to have his papers searched, and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify : but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction : his mode was first to sentence, then punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was, " What, you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?" and then struck him and ordered him to prison.

Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmel street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.

Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr. F. the cause. Mr. F. handed the major a note written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish, but he [major Rial] would find in that letter, what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.

Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed for the victim, translated in these words:

" SIR,

" I AM extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend sir Laurence Parsons.

" Yours,

" Baron de CLUES."

Notwithstanding this translation, which major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate ! the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed and working through his wounds ! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of his cat o'nine-tails on that part without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him ; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down, and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark small room, with no other furniture than a

wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days without medical assistance !

“ Gracious God ! (said Mr. Yelverton) will any man say that such a conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house ? Are the laws to be supported by trampling on them ? Is the man who could commit such barbarities, without the colour of justice or necessity, or even the shadow of just suspicion, to come for protection to this house ? I feel an indignation on this subject, that almost deprives me of utterance. I have before said, that I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates for acts done under the pressure of apparent justice or necessity, for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief ; and on those grounds I shall give the petition every resistance in my power.”

The attorney general in reply said, the petitioner, whose exertions had been productive of the happiest consequences, only complained of the persecutions, to which he was exposed ; his property, and what was infinitely of more importance to an honourable man, his character was at stake. What he claimed was investigation, and what he offered was proof upon oath of the guilt which he had punished. The honourable member would have acted more becomingly by awaiting in discreet patience the testimony offered by the petitioner, and deciding deliberately and dispassionately thereon, than by becoming an accuser in the first instance, and prematurely avowing strong indignation against the petitioner. The conduct of Mr. F. and its salutary consequences under the urgent necessity which prevailed, was vouched and approved of by the authority of the noble lord and the honourable member, who, from the circumstance of local residence and experience, must be best able to judge, and therefore the authority in favour of the petitioner was at least as respectable as that of the honourable member.

Mr. Yelverton said a few words in explanation and reply.

Dr. Browne could not see what measures a committee could adopt to ground any proceeding of the house for the indemnification of the petitioner against all future actions for damages for injuries done by him, whether justifiable or not. The bill of indemnity already passed, allowed, he thought, ample indemnification to every magistrate, who could claim or expect it on any reasonable ground, and therefore he could not see, why the house was to be called on to exceed that bill for the advantage of such an individual.

Mr. Edgeworth said, he would endeavour as far as it was in his power to repress that indignation, which he was taught in his early years to consider as one of the best guardians of virtue. He would calmly give his negative to this motion, believing it to be of most dangerous tendency.

With respect to the general character of the petitioner, he knew nothing of it but from what he heard in that house, and from what he had seen in the public prints. He would take it for granted that the petitioner's private character fully justified the eulogium, which had been bestowed upon him by the noble lord, and that his public services had been as meritorious and as successful as the honourable and worthy member [Mr. Holmes] had stated. But there were means in the power of the crown sufficiently ample to reward every useful exertion, and, as a member of that house, to interfere between the sentence of the law and its execution, was what he never could be reconciled to. A verdict had been given by a jury, with which two judges of the highest character had in the most explicit manner concurred. To interfere with that verdict was to call those judges to the bar of the house. The indemnity bill had gone as far as possible to protect magistrates; but beyond the limits of that bill to preclude any of his majesty's subjects from obtaining damages for personal injury, except where obvious mistake of judgment had occasioned those injuries, was so grossly unconstitutional as to call upon every real friend to the safety of the kingdom to resist it. He could not foretell what proceedings might be grounded upon this motion; he should therefore oppose it in the first instance; and he could not sit down without observing, that the right honourable gentlemen on the treasury bench would serve their country better by leaving the execution of the laws to juries and judges, than by becoming partizans in support of any favourite system of men and measures.

Mr. Ormsby severely censured the honourable member, who had endeavoured to excite the feelings and commiseration of the house for the sore back of a fellow, who, he believed, would be found, on inquiry, to have very well-deserved what he got: it was at least well-known, that he had many bad connexions, and associated with men of such principles as fully warranted the suspicion of his own.

Those who condemned the petitioner for severity to such criminals seemed to forget that loyal men could hope for no mercy, who fell into their clutches. He trusted the house would extend ample protection to a man who had so well deserved it.

Colonel Bagwell (member of the county for Tipperary) said, that it was not his intention to have spoken to the question then before the house, but to let the petition quietly go to a committee,

had it not been for what fell from the honourable member who spoke last. He was as ready as any person to give credit to the services rendered to the county of Tipperary by the activity of the petitioner ; but he was shocked and concerned to hear the sufferings of an innocent and respectable man treated with levity and indifference. As insinuations were thrown out against the character of Mr. Wright, he felt it his duty to declare what had come within his knowledge respecting that unfortunate and much-abused man. He was present during the trial of the action brought by Mr. Wright against the petitioner, and it was but an act of common justice to say, that in his mind, not the remotest shade of suspicion attached to the character of the plaintiff in that case, nor did the investigation which took place on that occasion furnish the most distant justification for the severe and terrible punishment inflicted on him. A similar opinion of the unfortunate man's innocence and loyalty was expressed from the bench, by the revered characters who presided. As to the general character of Mr. Wright, it was most unexceptionable in point of morality, religion, and politics ; and to that character, the best evidence was the very high estimation, in which he was holden by the best and most respectable men in the town of Clonmel. He would beg leave further to add, that this unfortunate man, who had been thus so severely dealt by, on the ground of a suspicion, which it was, as yet, apparent his conduct had not justified, was nearly related to some of the most illustrious and best characters, which that country could boast of : the fact must be admitted in the sense of rank allied to virtue, when he stated him to have been a near relation of the late lord Clonmel, under whose patronage he had been educated, and sent abroad ; he was also a near relation to that worthy, respectable, and lamented man, Robert Shaw, esq. and likewise nearly related to the present lord Dunboyne ; and as far as he could gain acquaintance with his character, he had never disgraced a relationship, which must have conferred honour on any man. Col. Bagwell concluded a short speech, dictated by humanity and justice, by saying, that he thought the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald generally very meritorious, and deserving the protection of government against the consequences of errors committed in his zeal for the safety of the state ; but it was too certain, that many innocent persons had suffered most severely from that zeal, and he thought it but conformable to every principle of humanity, justice, and sound policy, that that compensation which was in the power of the laws to make them, should be afforded ;—a compensation which, taken in every point of view, must fall infinitely short of their sufferings and their claims.

The question being put, the petition was referred to a committee.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Holmes reported from the committee, that the object of the inquiry committed to them could not be so well obtained in an open committee, as it would be in a secret committee; the order was therefore discharged, and here the affair was dropped. Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a considerable pension for his active services in quelling the rebellion.

Very warm debates took place upon the bill for suppressing the rebellion, which authorized the lord lieutenant, during the rebellion, whether the courts of law were open or not, to take the most vigorous steps for suppressing the rebellion, and for punishing persons furthering the cause of rebellion with martial law; and which secured the acts done in pursuance of the orders of the lord lieutenant from being questioned; and prohibited any court, civil or criminal, to take cognizance of any thing done in furtherance of that act. These unlimited powers vested in the lord lieutenant were submitted to by some in the personal confidence of the humanity and discretion of the marquis Cornwallis. They were opposed by several friends to government, as larger than necessary: and many urged strongly an amendment proposed by Mr. Dawson (member for Monaghan), that the powers should be co-extensive only with the proclaimed counties.

Mr. G. Ponsonby observed generally on the clause, that the powers contained in it were undefined, and its expressions vague and general. There was no method, whereby to ascertain when a rebellion might properly be said to exist or to terminate; and it was entirely left to the chief governor to decide at his discretion on this momentous fact, and the continuation of martial law and absolute power: it did not describe to what rank of military officers orders to execute martial law were to be issued. He wished to know, what was meant by "injuring the persons or property of loyal subjects?" He observed, on the part of the clause, which made the military only subject to trial by courts-martial for any offence against the subject: as it was a sort of French measure, he would apply to it a French appellation; and he would ask, what expectation of redress the aggrieved could have from those *military tribunals*?

Mr. Ponsonby concluded by saying, that he made those observations for the purpose of giving the attorney-general an opportunity for explanation.

The attorney general gave no explanation.

Lord Castlereagh, in enumerating the disadvantages, that would attend the introduction of such a passage in the bill, said, that if the county of Monaghan, although at present apparently quiet, were to start suddenly into rebellion, in like manner as the county of Wexford did, which was thought to be one of the most tran-

quill counties in the kingdom at that time, what was to be the consequence? Was the military to remain inactive, and look tamely on, while the country was devastated by rebellion; or were they to oppose the progress of insurrection, and be afterwards tried as for the murder of every rebel who should fall? It had been urged, that this law, if dispensed by any other hands than those now holding the reins of government, might be most fatally abused. Such an argument was certainly very complimentary to the present administration; but still it was an argument of jealousy, and the unhappy circumstances of the times left no application of this jealousy but to the government, or to traitors. If gentlemen thought, that they and the loyal inhabitants of the country would experience more mercy from United Irishmen, than from the persons exercising the government of that country, in God's name, let them apply their jealousy to the administration, and their confidence to the United Irishmen; for the state of the country left no alternative, but to strengthen the hands of the executive power to the utmost extent, or to submit to the predominancy of treason.

At three o'clock of the morning Mr. Dawson's amendment was negatived.

Flushed with confidence, the Anti-Unionists were determined to remove every obstacle, that they conceived their opponents might avail themselves of, in bringing the measure to bear. In order therefore to shut out the possibility of any future difference between the parliaments of the two kingdoms in the appointment of a regent, in case that necessity should recur, they brought forward a regency bill.*

* The following is a copy of that bill :

" *A Bill to provide for the Administration of the Government of Ireland, when-
" soever and as often as the government of Great Britain shall be administered
" by a Regent or Regency.*

" **FORASMUCH** as this kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the
" imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom is
" declared to be justly and rightly depending upon, and belonging, and for ever
" united to the same, and the kings and queens of England are, by undoubted
" right, kings and queens of this realm, and ought to enjoy the state, title,
" majesty, power, pre-eminence, jurisdiction, prerogative, and authority of
" kings and queens of the same :

" And whereas the exercise and administration of the regal powers of the
" imperial crown of Great Britain may happen to be vested in, and committed
" to a regent or regency, or to some person or persons by some other title,
" name, or description :

" And whereas the exercises and administration of the regal powers of
" the imperial crown of Ireland should be vested in, appertain to, and belong-
" ing to the person or persons in whom the administration of the regal powers
" of the imperial crown of Great Britain shall be vested, by whatever title,
" name, or description, the exercise or administration of the same shall be
" vested in him or them.

On the 11th of February, the right honourable Mr. Fitzgerald moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the regency bill, when lord Castlereagh observed, that on the second reading of the bill, he pledged himself not to offer any objection to it, provided it appeared adequate to the remedy it went to supply. His lordship's opinion was, that it would not prove a remedy for the inconvenience complained of. It went, in his mind, only to a part of the evil ; namely, the effect, but left the cause of the evil untouched. Thus the great malady still remained, and the connexion between both countries would in no instance be better secured. Two parliaments perfectly equal in point of rights, might at any future period differ respecting their choice of a regent, and therefore the bill could not effect that unity of the executive, which the measure proposed to establish.

Circumstanced as the countries were, the questions of peace and war, of treaties with foreign powers, of different religions might, at some future period, lead to a difference of decision between both parliaments, and such occurrence would shake the connexion, and in consequence the empire, to its foundations.

If questions of comparative advantage between countries might arise, how could a regency bill operate as a remedy for the evil ?

His lordship wished to be informed, how a bill, which went to establish the unity of the regal powers, could identify the necessary powers of a regent for other countries : might not the particular circumstances of one country differ so materially from the other, that the regency for both kingdoms could not conveniently be exercised by the same person ? Or did not the bill go to oblige the monarch to appoint one and the same regent ; which in fact went to restrict the legal authority ? Thus either the regal powers were curtailed, or the regency bill was inefficient to re-

" We, therefore, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords
 " spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, determined
 " to contribute every thing in our power to the firm and lasting establish-
 " ment of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, do most humbly
 " beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted by the king's most excellent
 " majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and tem-
 " poral, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the autho-
 " rity of the same, that whensoever and as often as the regal powers of the
 " imperial crown of Great Britain shall be exercised or administered by a regent
 " or regency, or by any person or persons by any other title, name, or description,
 " that the regal power of this your majesty's realm of Ireland shall be exercised
 " or administered, by the same person or persons, in whom the exercise and ad-
 " ministration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain shall
 " be vested, by whatever name, title, or description, the same shall be so vested
 " in him or them.

" Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such
 " person or persons shall exercise and administer the regal rights of the impe-
 " rial crown of this realm, under the same restrictions and limitations as such
 " person or persons shall be subject to, in the exercise and administration of the
 " regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and not otherwise."

move the inconvenience it went to remedy. The regent was to all intents and purposes a deputy; and could a regent in that case appoint a lord lieutenant? Could a deputy appoint a deputy? He presumed he could not:—and should a regent send over a lord lieutenant to that country, he was satisfied that the council could object to his authority.

His lordship read part of a speech of Mr. Fox's, to shew, that the adjustment of 1782 was not considered as a final one, that it went merely to quiet the political struggle which then existed; and that it was indispensably necessary to give up something for that imperial purpose.

His lordship concluded by saying, that the measure was inefficient to the purpose it held forth; calculated to blind the country, and disgrace the legislature.

Right honourable Mr. Fitzgerald declared, that it was only in a case of imperious conviction, that he was led to differ from the noble lord. His idea in introducing the bill, arose from the arguments founded on the possible emergency of the appointment of a regent; it being urged, that the parliaments of both countries were free to make different elections. He wished, as far as his limited abilities could, to supply that deficiency, and consequently to remove the cause of complaint. He had procured all the assistance possible in framing the bill; and all the law authorities he consulted, agreed with him in the opinion, that he had provided fully and completely for the deficiency complained of.

Mr. Fitzgerald concluded by moving an amendment to meet an objection of lord Castlereagh's, viz. after the word *shall*, in the first clause, by adding the words, "according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain."

Mr. Foster, for the first time, now delivered his sentiments at considerable length. His first aim was to demonstrate the finality of the settlement of 1782. He censured Mr. Pitt's* speech, which he termed a paltry production, the merest tissue of general assertion without proof, high-flowing language without meaning, and assumptions without argument.

One point, he observed, was a new and incontrovertible ground of constitutional permanence and finality—namely, that modification of Poynings' law which secured the continuance of the connexion between the kingdoms, by rendering the great seal of Britain necessary for every Irish law, and making the British minister responsible to the British nation, if any bill tending to injure the empire, or to separate Ireland from it, should receive the royal assent in the western realm. This regulation, he argued,

* As various editions of that gentleman's speech had been circulated, he selected that to which government had given its sanction of authority, which had been printed by the king's printer under their direction, of which 10,000 copies had been circulated *gratis* by them at the public expense.

was intended to secure union and connexion on a firm, lasting, and unalterable basis. It gave to the British parliament, as Mr. Dundas had observed, a control over the third estate of the Irish parliament, but it was a control over the king's naked power of assent only; which gave to Great Britain an effectual pledge, that Ireland retained no power to do any act (i. e. without the concurrence of Great Britain) to weaken or impair the connexion.

For his having recommended the commercial propositions of 1785, he had been accused of great inconsistency. But he denied, that an atom of the constitution would have been surrendered by the plan of 1785, but this new system would lead to its utter annihilation. *The measure of 1782 was all constitutional—that of 1785 all commercial.

The pretences for a legislative Union were ill supported. The risque of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or with regard to foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the bill now under consideration would remove all apprehensions on that head.

The arguments adduced for an Union of the two legislatures were, he said, equally applicable to the Union of the two houses of either parliament. These might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly. Where would then be our constitution? It would yield to monarchical or republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence of our constitution; and why might not the two legislatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined parliament.

Mr. Foster then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion, that it would not flourish more after an Union than under a resident parliament. It was already in a thriving state; it enjoyed all desirable freedom, and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors.

On the subject of religion he barely remarked, that an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the Protestants and Catholics differed, as judiciously and effectually as an imperial legislature.

* The speaker imputed to the British minister great insincerity in quoting his words in 1785, from Woodfall's Report, in having omitted the following pointed expression of his sentiment:—"He should think himself indeed unworthy of a seat in that house, or of the name of Irishman, if he could consent to barter an atom of the constitution of his country for all the commerce in the world."

He severely censured that want of political wisdom, which had induced the English minister to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the most vulnerable part of the empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phrases, by which he insulted the feelings of every Irishman. They knew them to be unfounded. Had they been true, it was the duty of a discreet statesman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakness of so considerable and important a part of the empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy; the danger immediate—the remedy distant and uncertain. He destroys a constitution which the Irish hold, as the dear sacred palladium of their liberty, and would persuade the world there would be more zeal in Ireland, when the constitution should no longer remain, to animate its spirit and invigorate its exertions.

Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the measure was still more strange, namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a resident parliament, and resident gentry, could not soften the manners, and amend the habits, or promote social intercourse, would no parliament, and fewer resident gentry, do it? What was the great misfortune with respect to the tenantry of that kingdom? The middle-men, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier, and these are mostly to be found on the estates of absentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new system, that depriving a country of its native resident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, degrading the hospitality of the old mansion-houses into the niggardly penury of agents, dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good subjects.

That the adding to the bishop's duty of attending to his diocese the new and imperial duty of quitting the kingdom for eight months in the year, was the best way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to their parishioners.

That a parliament, unacquainted with the local circumstances of a kingdom, ever at too great a distance to receive communication or information for administering in time to the wants or wishes of the people, or to guard against excesses or discontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than the one, which, by being on the spot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, best knew how to apply relief.

In adverting to the late treason and rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any parliament sitting in Great Britain have developed the secret system of conspiracy, animated the loyal, and supported the executive, with the effect that very parliament

had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time, of an united parliament walking through St. James's park with their address, and yet what vigour and energy did the instant procession of near two hundred members, with the mace, to the castle, give to the loyal ardour of the country; it animated the loyal spirit which crushed the rebellion before a single soldier could arrive from England, notwithstanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their sailing.

The extraordinary, wise and necessary measure of proclaiming martial-law, required the concurrence of parliament to support the executive. The time would have past by, before that concurrence could have been asked for, and received from London; and it would have given a faint support, coming from strangers, compared with the impression of its springing from Irishmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and yielding themselves and their properties to its control.

"The volunteers, said the speaker, the saviours of their country and terror of its enemies, when their great work was effected, and by the indiscreetness of a few leaders, their zeal was misled, and they began to exercise the functions of parliament, we spoke out firmly—they heard our voice with effect, and took our advice, instantly returning to cultivate the blessings of peace. I ask you, would equal firmness in a parliament, composed five parts in six of strangers, sitting in another country, have had the same effect? You know it would not. Personal character, respect to individuals, opinion of their attachment to one common country, all impressed an awe which was irresistible."

After having spoken very warmly to the incompetency of parliament to surrender their legislative powers, he closed his speech with the following address to his countrymen:

"Were I to address the Catholics, the Protestants, and all religions, I would say, your country is in danger; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your parliament. You are all natives of the same island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy constitution—bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity, to preserve it, join all hands and hearts together, bring the vessel into port, forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland, save your country. Tell the bold minister who wants to take away your constitution, that he shall not have it, that you will not be his dupe; that you love Britain as a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent; and that you will not degrade yourselves from an independent kingdom into an abject colony."

" To any of you who have doubts on the measure, I would say, these very doubts call on you to vote against it. Do not hazard a change where you have a doubt, a change from which there is no return—accept it, you have it for better for worse, you never can untie the knot—no appeal, no parliament left, to hear, to argue, or to speak for you ; and if the step you take should prove wrong, if it should unfortunately end in the nation's calling again for her old constitution, and the politics of the British cabinet should be so desperate as not to listen to that call, think of the dreadful consequences, of which you may be the cause, if fatally the shock of arms should follow. Even to you, whose conviction is clear, I would say, if the majority of your countrymen think differently from you, if even a respectable part of them only think so, do not rest so confidently on your own judgments, as to risque a measure which you cannot undo ; remember then, if the direful necessity should ever arrive to make it expedient, you may embrace it when you please, but, if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I speaking in another assembly, and if in such assembly any member sat returned for a borough, where the wishes of the electors followed the voice of some one individual, by which he became to have an habitual superiority, and of course a strong interest in its preservation (I do not say such a case exists here, though it might not be unparliamentary to suppose it), I would tell him, he is a trustee, and, without positive and direct desire, he should not do an act which is to annihilate the interest he is entrusted with. No, no—let all join in cherishing the parliament—it is a good one, and has done its duty—it has proved itself competent to every purpose of legislation, to procure peace, and to put down rebellion. Refuse the measure, but refuse it with calmness and dignity. Let not the offer of it lessen your attachment or weaken your affection to Britain ; and prove that you are, and wish to be (as the duke of Portland told you that you were ' indissolubly connected with Great Britain, one in unity of constitution and unity of interest.' But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that constitution which was confirmed to you under his administration in 1782, and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence."

Lord Castlereagh replied rather fully, and observed, that the speaker and his friends, pursued a line of conduct more calculated to agitate and inflame the minds of the people, than to allay heats and soften animosities.

Having combated the speaker's assertions with regard to commerce and other topics, his lordship lamented that any doubts of parliamentary competency had been started. That principle

might, he said, be defined to be the right of parliament to consult in every case the welfare and happiness of the people; and no man could question it, who knew or valued the constitution. The opposite doctrine was pregnant with mischief, and might, if it should be encouraged, be applied to the most seditious purposes. On the topic of religious divisions, he vindicated the jealousy which was felt by the Protestants, adding, that a more liberal system of policy might be pursued after an Union with full security.

Mr. George Ponsonby concurred with Mr. Foster. The true reason, which had induced the British minister to propose the scheme was, a desire of obtaining a complete dominion over Ireland, and of drawing as much money as he could from that kingdom, that he might be enabled to continue a contest, which Britain could no longer support alone. But he hoped that the spirit of the Irish would not suffer such views to prevail, and that the members of the House of Commons, as they were only trustees, would not dare to surrender the rights of the people without their consent.

About the half hour past four o'clock in the morning the question was put and carried unanimously upon Mr. Fitzgerald's first amendment: but as he was proceeding to move the other amendments the attorney general moved the necessity of the chairman's reporting progress at that advanced hour; to which Mr. Fitzgerald having agreed, Mr. Rochford reported progress and obtained leave to sit again.

When the regency bill was again discussed on the 18th of April, the majority did not find it an adequate remedy for the evils of parliamentary variance, and it was postponed to the 1st of August: and thus lost for the session.

Though the ministry had gained an advantage in the rejection of the regency bill, it did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to risque another discussion of the subject, while the public mind was so much on the fret. It was therefore resolved that the full developement of the unpopular scheme should be deferred to the next session; thus prolonging the chapter of accidents, so liable to be affected by the exertions, influence, and fiscal resources of government.

About this time commenced a very singular system of members shifting their seats in parliament according to their various feelings and sentiments, and in some instances according to the most unaccountable modes of squaring their honours and consciences on this critical and important measure. It would be both false and stupid to deny that the whole powers of government patronage, influence, and emolument, were now devoted to the proselytizing for the Union. Both in and out of parliament the op-

posite parties exerted their respective means of attraction and seduction with the utmost vigour and zeal, and it must be admitted, not in all instances, with the utmost delicacy and correctness. No political question was ever moved, that more warmly interested its advocates and opponents: their exertions and means were proportioned to their earnestness and zeal. An accommodating casuistry reconciled some of the political combatants to quit the field for a valuable consideration in order to let in others to fight the battle they were ashamed to engage in: thus squeamishly refusing the wages of prostitution, whilst they enhanced their demand for procuration.

On the 15th of May, lord Castlereagh moved, that the house should adjourn to the 1st of June: and amongst other motions, of course, Mr. M. Mason moved that the speaker should issue his writ for the borough of Kilmalloe, in the room of Mr. Oliver, who had accepted the escheatorship of Munster, when Mr. Dawson said, that he had no objection to the writ being issued, but at the same time would take occasion to ask the noble lord on the treasury bench, why the escheatorship of Munster had been given to the gentleman, in whose room the writ of election was required, and refused to an honourable friend of his, (colonel Cole) who having been appointed to serve in the island of Corfu as a British officer, asked the noble lord for that nominal place, the escheatorship of Munster, in order, that as he could not discharge his duty to his sovereign in that quarter of the globe, and fulfil the trust reposed in him by his constituents, they might not lose an opportunity of having their interest fairly supported in parliament; and he had been refused! The fact was, and he called on the noble lord to deny it if he could, that the escheatorship of Munster was, in this instance, refused, because the electors of Enniskillen had fixed on a relative of the honourable colonel as his successor in that house, who would support the independence of his country against the project of an Union, because it was intended that colonel Cole's seat in the Irish parliament should be filled by a gentleman (Mr. Balfour) who had already conspicuously manifested his respect and attachment to that parliament, by the resolutions which he brought forward in the county of Louth in opposition to the measure of an Union; he called upon the noble lord as a minister acting upon fair and honest principles, to come forward and candidly avow what were his motives for acting by his honourable friend in a manner so apparently partial and unhandsome. It was an explanation which the noble lord owed to himself, to that house, and to the country.

Mr. prime serjeant said, that his right honourable friend who sat beside him, would be very much wanting to the duty he owed his sovereign, and to the situation in which he stood, if he were

to enter into any explanation, or assign to any individual of that house, the motives influencing him in the exercise of a prerogative of the crown; to do so were in effect to resign that prerogative, and betray the interests of his sovereign.

Mr. O'Donnel violently supported Mr. Dawson.

Colonel Cole was refused the escheatorship of Munster in the expectation that he must either stay at home and resign his regiment, or go abroad, and thereby give a vote more to the minister on the next discussion of his favourite measure.

Mr. Arthur Moore did not conceive how ministers could justify such a partial and unfair exercise of the prerogative of the crown, unless they were determined openly and broadly to confess and declare (that which every day's events rendered useless for them longer to conceal) that they were resolved to carry the measure of Union by any, and by every means, and to use all the engines and influence of power, and the insidious practices of fraud and unfair dealing, to bring about its completion. Sir, there is no man who is an attentive observer of public occurrences, and who keeps an eye on the measure of the administration, who must not have seen, and seen with affliction, that the measures which had been taken, and were now in daily and unremitting practice, to effectuate the Union, were such as no honest man could justify, which, while they stamped the authors of them with indelible disgrace, must render the incorporation of the legislatures of the two countries, if carried, impermanent, and the discontents and calamities of that nation eternal. Was it not enough that the whole authority of the court, both ordinary and extraordinary, was exerted to bring about the measure, and that upon a full and fair discussion of its merits, it was rejected by the unbought and uninfluenced sense of the representatives of the people? Was it not enough that since that period, the efforts of corruption had been redoubled, that promises were lavished, and stipulations made for offices and honours, that their liberties were brought to market overt, where every dishonest man might sell and buy, but where no honest man was permitted to shew his face? Was it not enough that the public sense was daily misrepresented by fables and false reports of change of sentiment, of conversion from error, of majorities in favour of the measure in that house? Was it not enough that the sister kingdom and the British cabinet, were evidently and designedly misled and misinformed, as to the real state of public opinion in that country? Was it not enough, that the public money was perverted to the purpose of extinguishing the free and fair communication of opinion, and of corrupting the press, to become the vehicle of false statement, of personal calumny, and of libel on the Irish parliament? Would not these means, these efforts, content them? Were they

not satisfied with having the purse and the power of the country in their hands, and actively employed in forwarding their views? Were they not content with purchasing the mercenary aid of every hireling scribbler, and circulating gratis the wicked, seditious, (he thought in some instances little short of) treasonable publications of interested or ignorant men, through the medium of the public post-office, to all parts of the kingdom, while the communication of every publication in favour of the legislative independence of Ireland was not only withholden but forbidden? Were they not satisfied to sap and undermine their constitution by the slow and silent approaches of unremitting corruption, but must it be openly and boldly assailed by an undisguised aggression upon the privileges and independence of parliament? So unjust and partial an exercise of the prerogative was highly disgraceful to the administration, and an unpardonable invasion of the privileges of that house; the escheatorships of the provinces were become mere nominal offices, exclusively applicable to the purpose of occasional vacation of the seats of this house, in order either to accommodate any member who might wish to retire from parliament altogether, or be eligible for another seat, or to gratify the electors of any particular place, by giving them an opportunity of electing whatever person they should think most worthy of the trust of representing them. Was this the use made of the like nominal offices in England, viz. the stewardships of the three Chiltern hundreds, &c. which Mr. Hatsell stated had been, since the year 1750, made use of for the convenience of all parties, and which the ministers of England have uniformly and impartially so applied for the purpose of accommodation, where the seat has not been vacated for any pecuniary consideration.

If that house convinced as it must be of the fact, would not reprobate and punish it, it would be better to submit at once to the vassalage and servility prepared for them, it would be better to yield the constitution with a good grace, than to have it taken from them by fraud, foul dealing, and indirect means, it would be better to embrace with courage the instant death of an union, than to enjoy for a time a precarious and painful existence, with the melancholy certainty before their eyes of closing their career in ultimate and inevitable dissolution.

Mr. Plunkett spoke with great warmth on the same side, the question had been brought into that house accompanied by the execrations of the people of Ireland, but at the same time with the proud boast, and childish hope, on the part of the noble lord, that it would be carried by a triumphant majority; it was dismissed and defeated by the instinct, and the reason, and the virtue, and the talents, and the property of the country. Let it not then be said that the Union had been defeated by a faction, unless it

were that faction, to whom it was owing, that a vestige of the British government was still to be traced in the country, without whom they would have lost Ireland in the last year, and without whom they could not hold it during the next. At first the noble lord professed that no man should be allowed to vacate, unless he gave satisfactory assurance that his seat was not to be sold. He stated it as a fact, and desired to be contradicted if it were not so, that the noble lord had totally abandoned that principle, which he admitted was a fair and honourable one; he stated it as a fact, that since he made that profession he had allowed seats to be vacated, where he knew that money was to be given by the successor, and that he had refused permission to vacate, as in the instance of the honourable colonel, where he knew that no money was to be given. He stated it as a fact, that it was publicly avowed by government, that voting or not voting for the Union, was the sole rule by which the permission to vacate should be regulated. Would any man after that be so senseless, as to believe that government wished for the fair sense of the parliament or of the people; would they deny, that they had purchased the newspapers to admit publications only on one side? Would they deny, that they had instructed sheriffs to prevent the sense of the counties being collected by the convening of county meetings? were they ready now to have the counties of Ireland convened and to abide the test of their declarations on the question? It was notorious that the power of government had been strained in every corner of the kingdom, to prevent the sense of the people from being declared. He was informed, that their emissaries actually descended so low as to threaten a publican in the city of Cork, that his license should be withdrawn, if he ventured to receive into his house a number of gentlemen, who afterwards affixed their signatures to an address, thanking the parliament for having rejected the Union. They were told distinctly, that the measure was not to be pressed against the sense of parliament and people, but whilst they shewed that they were straining every nerve to corrupt the sense of parliament, and to stifle the voice of the people, they could not be believed.

The attorney general strongly recommended to the minister to keep the disposal of offices to himself, and not to betray that part of the prerogative of the crown, by answering the interrogatories of any member of that house.

Mr. J. C. Beresford asked how would it appear to the people of the country when they should see members of that house, who were adverse to the measure of an Union, and who happened to hold rank in the British army, sent out of the country in order to thin the house, and give a majority to government, and when it should be seen that the place bill was made a tool of in the hands

of government, to enslave parliament, instead of maintaining it free.

Hon. F. Hutchinson, called Mr. J. C. Beresford to order, for the purpose of recalling his attention to the question under debate, and not from an apprehension that his honourable friend could succeed in his endeavour to inflame the people. The season for that delusion was now past: the discussions, which had taken place in both countries had informed the public judgment, and it was too late now to practise any delusion upon it with effect. He said, that to the best of his observation, there was a strong growing sentiment in favour of the Union in many parts of the kingdom. He spoke more particularly of the South, where his connexions lay; he said he believed it to be true, that fifteen parts out of sixteen of the property of the county of Cork had, by public resolutions, declared their opinion in favour of the measure, that the sentiment of a most numerous and respectable meeting holden in Cork had been long since known; that he had taken pains to inform himself of the opinion of the county of Kerry, and that he had the best grounded reasons to think that nearly the whole weight of the property of that county was favourable to the Union. He said, he referred to those parts of the kingdom only, with which he happened to be particularly connected; that from these and similar facts, which other gentlemen might state from their local knowledge, he desired permission to controvert the assertion so often repeated, that the sense of the majority of the nation was adverse to the Union. He said, he could not help observing, that this assertion contained in itself a monstrous assumption, when it was a fact which could not be controverted, that the Catholics, who composed that majority, had, as a body, cautiously refrained from delivering any public opinion upon the question. Having mentioned the Catholic body, he stated, among other grounds of argument, that he sustained the Union, principally because it was his firm persuasion, that it would have the effect of restoring to the Catholics their just rights, and would place them in a situation of perfect equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects; that in speaking of Ireland, it ought always to be remembered, that no nation had ever been in this respect similarly circumstanced. He said, it was time to apply a remedy to the evils arising from that exclusion, and that conceiving the Union to be that remedy, he would sustain it whensoever brought before parliament, considering it as a measure calculated, among other wise purposes, to heal the dissensions of that country, and to strengthen and cement the force of the empire. He begged leave, before he sat down, to advert to some observations, which had been made on the conduct of sheriffs. He had the honour of standing in that situation for the

county of Tipperary. He had been applied to to call a meeting of certain baronies, and afterwards had received a requisition to convene the county, to consider of the question of a legislative Union : he had declined to comply with either of these requisitions ; but in so doing, he acted in compliance with the opinion and advice of the majority of the rank and property of that great county, whose sentiments he had thought it his duty to consult, and by whose sentiments he had been directed. They conceived, from the disturbed state of the country, among other reasons, that the time for this meeting was inopportune ; they had stated this opinion to him in a public paper, conceived in the strongest terms. His opinion coincided with theirs, and he had acted accordingly.

Mr. G. Ponsonby, and also Mr. W. B. Ponsonby spoke very warmly against this abuse of the prerogative for the unfair purpose of biassing the parliament ; and a very irregular and intemperate debate ensued. Amongst the speakers Mr. Martin took an opportunity of enlarging upon the merits of lord Cornwallis's administration.

Was it not by his wisdom, more than by his arms, that the rebellion had been put down ? Had not the expectation of his clemency done as much to preserve Ireland, as the terror of his power ? Had he listened to intemperate, bigoted councils, and counsellors, when the French landed at Killala, the rebellion would have raged in every county as much as it had in Wexford and at the battle of New-Ross ; by his mercy he conquered the rebels, for he separated from them those who were forced by terror, or even those who were deluded. But his excellency boasted a better conquest : it is one over himself, over his own nature, when his duty forbade him to spare those, who by irreclaimable wickedness became the proper objects of punishment ; and where real objects of punishment had been found, he defied the calumniators of his administration not to allow, that his excellency considered with a mild firmness what was due to justice as well as to humanity.

There were three or four individuals, who blamed, what almost as many millions approved. The Marquis Cornwallis did not submit to be the pliant, docile pupil of those, who used to command when it was their duty to obey, but without such assistance, and in defiance even of their own machinations, he had saved Ireland. That he had saved Ireland, witness the confidence of a disciplined army : witness the confidence which the country had in them, and which both had in the name of Cornwallis. That he had saved Ireland, witness again the repose of every part of the island, with an enemy hovering on the coast, and known to be destined for invasion. Why did they not hear of a rebel

army assembling? For this reason, that no country was ever in a better state of preparation. Did his excellency accomplish that by consulting any of the great parliamentary undertakers? No, he was enabled only to accomplish it by separating from them, from that faction who expelled one commander in chief, and obliged the late lord lieutenant to apply for his recall. Those were the acts, on which the public would decide the merits of his excellency's administration, and not on hearing to whom the office of escheator had been granted or refused.

The debate was put an end to by the question of adjournment, which was carried by the minister, there having been on the division 47 for, and 33 against it.

The house having adjourned to the 1st of June, the commons attended their speaker to the House of Lords, where his excellency delivered the following speech* from the throne.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE received his majesty's commands to release you from your further attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are still agitated by the projects of the disaffected may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

“ I am at the same time to thank you in his majesty's name for the continued and undiminished zeal, which you have manifested for counteracting the wicked plots of internal conspirators, and for the defeat of every hostile attempt, which the desperation of the enemy may meditate.

“ The situation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period, which has elapsed since the commencement of the session. The signal advantages already obtained by the Austrian arms, and the vigorous and decisive exertions on the part of Russia, must be subjects of great joy and congratulation of all, who can estimate the value of established order and legitimate government. I know the pleasure you must derive from the consoling prospect that Ireland may be ultimately rescued from the ravaging arms and the desolating principles of France.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I THANK you in his majesty's name for the large and extraordinary supply, which you have so honourably voted to meet every wish of the government and every exigency of the state. You must reflect with the highest satisfaction upon the liberal co-operation, which in every moment of

“ difficulty you have experienced from the British parliament;
 “ and I have the fullest confidence, that the public spirit of this
 “ country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain in
 “ submitting to such temporary burthens as the safety of the
 “ community may require.

“ I sincerely regret that so extensive a demand should be made
 “ upon your liberality, but when no measure has been left untri-
 “ ed by the malice of our enemies to sever this kingdom from
 “ the British empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of re-
 “ bellion and massacre, you have displayed true wisdom in pro-
 “ portioning your exertions to the blessings you have to preserve,
 “ and the miseries you have to avert.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I AM to return you his majesty's acknowledgments
 “ for the many important measures you have accomplished this
 “ session. Your liberality and justice to those who have suffered
 “ from their loyalty will confirm the exertions of the well-dis-
 “ posed, and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper
 “ currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation
 “ without diminishing the necessary circulations.

“ I am sensible of the confidence, which you have reposed in
 “ me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in
 “ the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the
 “ country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the
 “ purposes for which they were given, by taking the most effec-
 “ tual and summary measures for the suppression and punishment
 “ of rebellious proceedings interfering as little as possible with
 “ the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty's
 “ peaceable subjects.

“ I have his majesty's particular commands to acquaint you,
 “ that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great
 “ Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by re-
 “ solutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire
 “ Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by
 “ the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and
 “ liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution and go-
 “ vernment, and on a sense of mutual interest and affections. His
 “ majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the
 “ accomplishment of a system, which by allaying the unhappy
 “ distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting
 “ the security, wealth and commerce of his respective kingdoms,
 “ must afford them at all times, and especially, in the pre-
 “ sent moment, the best means of jointly opposing an ef-
 “ fectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and do-
 “ mestic enemies ; and his majesty, as the common father of his

“ people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment
 “ when in conformity to the sentiments, wishes and real interest
 “ of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be in-
 “ separably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free
 “ constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his ma-
 “ jesty’s crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the
 “ welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

“ I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am
 “ placed, and the weight of the trust which his majesty has im-
 “ posed upon me at this most important crisis ; but if I should
 “ be so fortunate as to carry this great measure, I shall think the
 “ labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country
 “ amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction that
 “ I have had some share in averting from his majesty’s domini-
 “ ons those dangers and calamities, which have overspread so
 “ large a portion of Europe.”

Violent as were the effects of the opposite exertions to forward and resist the Union in Ireland, in Great Britain the project excited but a slight degree of attention or interest. Many considered it as a measure, that promised little benefit and threatened little inconvenience to either country. Even the most violent Unionists were not so sanguine, as to conclude that all its good effects would be rapid or immediate ; though some less attentive to the real state of Ireland, vainly imagined that her evils and miseries would instantly disappear upon her union with Great Britain.

When the session of the British parliament closed on the 12th of July, the king, after expressing his joy at the comparatively tranquil state of Ireland, observed, that the ultimate security of that country could alone be established by its “ intimate and entire union” with Great Britain.*

* Thus his majesty spoke with reference to Ireland. (9 *Eng. Deb.* p. 578.)

“ I have the satisfaction of seeing, that internal tranquillity is in some degree
 “ restored in my kingdom of Ireland.

“ The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant
 “ quarter must nearly extinguish even the precarious hope, which the traitor-
 “ ous and disaffected have entertained of foreign assistance.

“ But our great reliance for the immediate safety of that country must still
 “ rest on the experienced zeal and bravery of my troops of all descriptions,
 “ and on the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful subjects
 “ in both kingdoms.

“ Its ultimate security can alone be ensured by its intimate and entire Union
 “ with Great Britain ; and I am happy to observe, that the sentiments mani-
 “ fested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects, justi-
 “ fy the hope, that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be
 “ proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common in-
 “ terest of both my kingdoms.”

Ireland was now neither convulsed with rebellion, nor perfectly tranquil. Several counties (the Anti-unionists said for carrying the union) were proclaimed. The presence of numerous troops kept the malcontents in awe and repressed disorder; the extraordinary powers of courts-martial diffused through the realm an effective terror. Some insults, outrages, and depredations, however, were committed; inveterate animosity inflamed the public mind, and the question of union aggravated the bitterness of contest.

If credit be allowed the reports of the Anti-unionists, the meanest artifices were practised to obtain signatures to the several addresses; and the lowest of the rabble were invited to subscribe their names or affix their marks. On the other hand, the Unionists accused their opponents of having had recourse to scandalous misrepresentations, and of having abused the credulity of the populace by shameless impositions. These mutual charges and recriminations were unfortunately but too well founded.

The influence of government was surprisingly forwarded by the progress which the lord lieutenant made through many counties which he conceived to be well-disposed to the measure.

While this great imperial measure was advancing to maturity, the legislature of Great Britain re-assembled as early as on the 24th of September. His majesty then represented the experience of every day as confirming him in the persuasion,* that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure; and he trusted, that the disposition of the parliament of Ireland would be found to correspond with that, which the national council of Britain had manifested for the accomplishment of the scheme. The marquis of Buckingham, when he moved the address of thanks, observed, that, from the opportunities of accurate judgment afforded to him by a residence in Ireland at different periods, and from the very attentive consideration which he had bestowed on the subject, the probable benefits of the measure struck him in a forcible light. He was confident that the happiest effects would result from it. The people of Ireland, he said, had long thought themselves injured by the domineering influence and selfishness of Britain; but all such prejudice would be removed by an union; and a close conjunction of interests, with the prevalence of the same laws over the whole empire, would establish peace and tranquillity, contentment and happiness. The popular sentiment in favour of Union was rapidly gaining ground.

In proceeding to the year 1800, the exertions of the marquis of Downshire and other Anti-unionists demand particular notice. In the first month of that year, that marquis, the earl of Charle-

* 10 Parl. Reg. p. 3.

mont, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, member for the county of Kilkenny, sent circular letters to the Irish gentry and yeomanry, to the following effect. They were authorised, they said by a number of gentlemen of both houses of parliament, thirty-eight of whom were representatives of counties, to intimate their opinion, that petitions to parliament, declaring the real sense of the freeholders on the subject of a legislative union, would at that time be highly expedient; and, if such a proceeding should meet with the approbation of any one of the individuals, to whom the letters were addressed, it was recommended to him to use his influence in procuring such a petition without delay from his county. It was reported that the same gentlemen, together with some other enemies to the Union, had formed a stock purse for defraying the expenses of opposing it.

The conduct of the marquis of Downshire was so displeasing to government, that he was removed from the government of the county, the colonelcy of the royal Downshire regiment of 1200 men, and was also erased from the list of privy counsellors. The Anti-unionists highly resented this disgrace of the marquis, and availed themselves of it as an additional and flagrant proof of the corrupt bias and intimidation, with which it was the determination of government to carry the Union.

From the propagation of parliament to the close of the year both parties busied themselves with unceasing industry in advancing their respective causes. The great body of Roman Catholics had rather kept themselves back upon the question. Many of that body thought for themselves upon the point, and promiscuously with their fellow-subjects signed addresses and resolutions, some for and some against the Union, under the general descriptions of freeholders or inhabitants of particular districts.* In all large bodies of any religious or civil distinction will be found a gregarious disposition or bias, arising out of some fact or principle common to the spirit of their general union and incorporation. When therefore the Catholics perceived that the greatest number and the most violent opposers of the legislative Union were the most virulent of the Orangemen and the real malcontents or separatists, their feelings were not keenly excited to coalesce with the Anti-unionists. The lord lieutenant had uniformly shewn them protection and kindness, and so gratified were they with this pleasing novelty, that the affections and gratitude of most of the body were firmly attached to his administration and to the measures, which his excellency so warmly espoused and recommended.

* In some counties and districts the Roman Catholics came forward under their distinct appellation, as may be seen by some addresses in the Appendix, No. CXVIII.

It may indeed be said, that a very great preponderancy in favour of the Union existed in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy. The severities and indignities practised upon them after the rebellion by many of the Orange party, and the offensive affected confusion and use of the terms *papist* and *rebel* produced fresh soreness in the minds of many, the pointed recollection of the long sufferings of their body from their own legislature, and the grateful sense of the benefits they had received from the parental tenderness of their sovereign, after the indignant rejection and contumely of the Irish parliament, all naturally tended to inspire the Catholics with plenary confidence and attachment to the marquis Cornwallis and this favourite measure of his government. Some highly respectable members of the Roman Catholic communion were certainly very warm Anti-unionists. It probably is owing to the kind and liberal conduct of lord Cornwallis's administration towards that body, and to the opposite treatment, which they experienced from the rigorists, that so many Roman Catholics solicited the Union. For unquestionably no distinct description of persons had so interesting and strong an argument to ground their opposition upon, as the body of Roman Catholics, who by the Union evidently forfeited all the constitutional advantages of a most decided majority in an independent nation, to sink into an insignificant minority of the united kingdom.

As Dublin appeared to be exposed to more loss and local prejudice from the Union, than any other part of the kingdom, so was the opposition to it there more vigorously supported than in any other part of the kingdom. Here indeed a large portion of the Roman Catholic residents came forward in their distinct capacity of Catholics to oppose it, which in other parts of the kingdom they had not done, although several Catholic individuals had signed addresses and resolutions promiscuously with their Protestant brethren against the measure. This step was productive of some disunion in the Catholic body; as the clergy and many other respectable inhabitants of the city of that communion were for supporting the lord lieutenant in the measure. The effects of this difference of opinion in the Catholic body was perceived by their innate adversaries the Orangemen, who, in order not to weaken their body by any such internal disunion, warily published an advertisement from their grand lodge to prevent even the discussion of the question amongst them.*

* GRAND ORANGE LODGE.

To the Orangemen of Ireland.

Dublin, Jan. 21, 1800.

The grand lodge of Ireland observe with heartfelt satisfaction, that their former recommendation to their brethren, to abstain, as Orangemen, from any

Before the meeting of the parliament in January, such Catholics of Dublin as were Anti-unionists, held a meeting at the Royal Exchange on the subject of the projected Union. Some difficulties arose in the way of the meeting from the military, but which were removed the moment his excellency marquis Cornwallis became acquainted with the attempt made to prevent an expression of the popular opinion on a question big with the fate of the popular interests.

The assembly having obtained permission to speak, Mr. Moore was unanimously called to the chair, when counsellor O'Connel opened the business of the meeting, with observing, that under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung against the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from all political discussion, 'at the same time that they were ready as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects. This resolution, which they had entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of Union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of Union, and silent allies of that conspiracy formed against the name, the interests, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and

discussion of the question of Union, has had the happiest effects, inasmuch as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies to religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord amongst Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer some further observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities, as members of parliament, grand jurors, freeholders, and members of corporate bodies, have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union—but it is the earnest entreaty of the grand lodge, that as a society they will continue silent—for as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, from local circumstances, conceive different ideas on this subject, the discussion of a question of such magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage and local disadvantage, must unavoidably create a division in opinion—and “an house divided against itself cannot stand.” It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen to keep in mind the great object for which they have associated, to wit:—
 “We associate to the utmost of our power to support and defend his majesty
 “King George the Third, the constitution and laws of this country, and the
 “succession to the throne in his majesty's illustrious house being Protestants,
 “for the defence of our persons and properties, and to maintain the peace of
 “our country; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist
 “the civil and military powers, in the just and lawful discharge of their duty,”
 and to avoid as injurious to the institution all controversy upon subjects not connected with our principles.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Master.
 JOHN C. BERRSFORD, Grand Sec.

degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every Union pamphlet, every Union speech impudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning a measure, which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of Anti-unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favourably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile; a libel the most false, scandalous and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people.

"Sir," continued Mr. O'Connel, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember, that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a sect, which would debase and destroy them as a *people*."

After which Mr. O'Connel moved the resolutions inserted in the newspaper, which were unanimously agreed to.*

* "Royal Exchange, Dublin, January 13, 1800.

"At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened pursuant to public notice.

AMBROSE MOORE, Esq. in the Chair.

"Resolved, That we are of opinion that the proposed incorporate Union of the legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, is in fact an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be reduced to the abject condition of a province, surrendered to the mercy of the minister and legislature of another country, to be bound by the absolute will and taxed at their pleasure by laws, in the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatsoever.

The lord lieutenant had every reason to be satisfied with the success of his tour through the kingdom during the course of the summer. The great odium and horror of the measure had abated in most places, and in many those who had at first shewn themselves against it, had now become warm advocates in its favour. If it had not become generally popular, it had ceased at least to be generally unpopular. Active preparations were made to meet the parliament, which was to open on the 15th of January. In the mean while many new members had been chosen in lieu of others, who had retired upon terms. Mr. Grattan had been elected for the borough of Wicklow on the death of Mr. Gahan deceased, and was sworn in on the 15th, being the first day of the meeting of the last parliament of Ireland. The lord lieutenant made a long speech from the throne, which avoided any mention of or reference to the Union.* Lord vis-

Resolved, That we are of opinion that the improvement of Ireland for the last twenty years, so rapid beyond example, is to be ascribed wholly to the independency of our legislature, so gloriously asserted in the year 1782, by the virtue of our parliament co-operating with the generous recommendation of our most gracious and benevolent sovereign, and backed by the spirit of our people, and so solemnly ratified by both kingdoms as the only true and permanent foundation of Irish prosperity and British connexion.

Resolved, That we are of opinion, that if the independency should ever be surrendered, we must as rapidly relapse into our former depression and misery : and that Ireland must inevitably lose with her liberty, all that she has acquired in wealth and industry and civilization.

Resolved, That we are firmly convinced that the supposed advantages of such a surrender, are unreal and delusive, and can never arise in fact ; and that even if they should arise, they would be only the bounty of the master to the slave, held by his courtesy, and resumeable at his pleasure.

Resolved, That having heretofore determined not to come forward any more in the distinct character of Catholics, but to consider our claims and our cause not as those of a sect, but as involved in the general fate of our country, that we now think it right, notwithstanding such determination, to publish the present resolutions, in order to undeceive our fellow-subjects, who may have been led to believe by a false representation, that we are capable of giving any concurrence whatsoever to so foul and fatal a project : to assure them that we are incapable of sacrificing our common country to either pique or pretension ; and that we are of opinion that this deadly attack upon the nation is the great call of nature, of country, and posterity, upon Irishmen of all descriptions and persuasions, to every constitutional and legal resistance ; and that we sacredly pledge ourselves to persevere in obedience to that call as long as we have life.

“ Signed by order,

“ JAMES RYAN, Sec.”

• “ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE received his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament.

“ Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration.

“ By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and tyranny of the French.

count Loftus moved the address, and was seconded by colonel Crosbie. His lordship hinted only in oblique terms at the measure of Union, by observing that after his majesty had rallied and inspired his continental allies with a glorious spirit and persever-

" The throne of Naples, and our friendly connexions with that kingdom, have been restored.

" The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander.

" The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power which had been misled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and decisive counsels of the marquis Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his majesty's generals, officers and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the Globe have been beneficially extended and effectually secured.

" By the descent of his majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprise so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it had been so often planned, and enabling his majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port, from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success.

" My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers, which you have committed to my discretion with vigor, and at the same time with moderation; all tendency to insurrection has been effectually repressed: but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has been to frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts, that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance.

" I trust the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his majesty's subjects, as have been deluded by the artifices, which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their allegiance, and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation,

" So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition, subversive at once of the liberties of Europe and of the security of his majesty's dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandizement can be frustrated or solid peace procured.

" His majesty has therefore availed himself, with peculiar satisfaction, of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposeable military forces of his own dominions; his majesty, therefore, has been highly gratified in accepting the services so generously offered by his English militia, and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his majesty feels that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding at this important crisis the active operations of the empire, will not be less prompt and conspicuous.

ing vigor, he had at the same moment improved the condition of British subjects, on the broad and generous basis of the empire, and thus derived the warmest affection of a free people, and the unceasing gratitude of a virtuous posterity, whose happiness and interests their gracious sovereign had by such undeviating and undaunted means secured. Sir Lawrence Parsons desired the lord lieutenant's speech at the conclusion of the last session to be read. This speech, said he, recommended from his majesty the measure of an incorporating Union with England. The minister had prevented them from giving an answer to his majesty at the time, by a sudden prorogation. He wished to prevent them from giving an answer by having studiously omitted any mention of the subject in that speech. The reason was obvious : from the time they had rejected that measure last session, the minister had employed every engine of the government, and endeavoured by the

" The apprehensions of general scarcity, which sometime since took place, called for my early attention to this most important subject, and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any further extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" THE evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted.

" I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have the fullest confidence that in the supply which the situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom and the honour of his majesty's government.

" I am induced to hope that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services without any distressing addition to the burthens of the people.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I RECOMMEND to your usual attention agriculture, the manufactures of Ireland ; and I doubt not that the Protestant charter schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or of education, which have been protected by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement.

" It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers with which you have strengthened the authority of his majesty's government for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.

" His majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom, and he has no doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honourable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity.

" It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands I have received from his majesty, and most effectually forward the interest and happiness of this kingdom."

most unwarrantable practices to pervert the sentiments of the parliament on that subject, and did not wish that they should take it into consideration until his machinations were complete. It mattered not, whether the representatives of that great nation were turned out of that door by the sword of the army, or the gold of the treasury—by a Cromwell or by a secretary; in both cases the treason against the constitution was the same. One of the greatest offences of James the II. was attempting to pack a parliament; of that offence he now arraigned the minister of the crown, by prostituting the prerogative in order to pack a parliament. A string of men, who were against the Union, were to go out; that a string of men, who were for it might come in. Were they to sit supinely there until those practices were matured? To wait while the serpent was collecting himself in his coils, to spring upon them with greater violence? The British ministers evidently intended to take an unfair advantage of Ireland. While the spirit of the people was depressed by recent troubles—the country covered with armies greater than ever were known there before—while martial law prevailed, and a formidable invasion was menaced—in short, while apprehensions from without and from within precluded all free exercise of the public mind upon that fatal project, they forced the discussion of the measure regardless of the unfitness of the time, thinking only of the present strength of one state and the accidental weakness of the other.

It was only in consequence of the late rebellion, said the advocates of Union, and in compassion to Ireland, as a cure for all its disorders, that the measure was proposed. The idea of the scheme arose from the ambition of the British cabinet, which regretting the cession of independence to Ireland in 1782, attempted a partial recovery of its authority three years afterwards, and, failing on that occasion, sought to recover it completely by an Union; for that such a measure was in contemplation above three years before the rebellion broke out, was evident from a letter of the duke of Portland to earl Fitzwilliam, though it were not so expressly mentioned.

Ireland would gain nothing but might lose much by an Union. Her loss by absentees, on a moderate computation, would be nearly doubled. The country would be more liable to disorder and convulsion from the absence of the landholders. These, when resident on their estates, might be considered as the binding-stones of society, keeping by their strength and weight all the parts of government firm and compact; but, if they should be removed, the fabric on the first storm might fall to the ground.

He then moved an amendment to the address, connecting the desire of a continuance of British connexion with the wish for the preservation of an independent resident parliament.

Lord Castlereagh spoke contemptuously of the arguments of sir Lawrence. The silence of the lord lieutenant on the subject did not arise from any conviction of the impolicy of prosecuting the scheme. The question had been withdrawn, when the House of Commons seemed unwilling to entertain it; but, as a great majority of the people now approved the measure, and as there was reason to believe, that many of its late parliamentary opponents had renounced their ideas of its demerits, his majesty's counsellors had resolved to give it a new chance of regular investigation. The reason of its not having been mentioned in the viceroy's speech was merely, that it was to be made a subject of distinct communication to parliament. As the question claimed a full discussion, it ought not to be extinguished by anticipation. As the amendment tended to preclude inquiry, he trusted that the good sense of the house would reject the motion.

Mr. Latouche, the privy counsellor, recommended an Union as the most promising remedy for the disorders of Ireland; but it was reprobated by lord Cole as a pernicious measure and promoted by improper means. Mr. John Claudius Beresford would only consent to it in case of the invasion and occupancy of Ireland by a French army; and even then he would insist on the restoration of the parliament, in the event of a total expulsion of the enemy.

Mr. George Ogle again declared his unwillingness to surrender the Irish constitution. Mr. Denis Browne spoke against the amendment, as did also Mr. Martin and the junior Mr. Bagwell.

Mr. Fitzgerald advised a postponement of the discussion till the agitations and troubles of the realm should have subsided. He hoped that the majority of the members would not extinguish the light of the realm, as he knew not where, if they should repent, they would find "the Promethean heat which could that light relumine."

Mr. O'Hara lamented the effects, which the Union would have in point of trade and revenue; stating, that, instead of an annual balance of 600,000*l.* in favour of Ireland, there would then be a balance of 900,000*l.* against her.

Mr. George Ponsonby spoke with much point and severity of lord Castlereagh's arguments.*

* It is indeed very cruel, he said, that a motley opposition should impede the wishes of the minister; it is very cruel that some who have approved and some who have opposed parliamentary reform should resist a measure, which will leave them no parliament at all; it is very cruel, that those who have submitted plans of emancipation to traitors should agree in opposing an Union; it is a most sad and deplorable thing, that those who may have differed in speculative improvement of the constitution should agree in reprobating its total destruction;

Government ought to endeavour to make the parliament wiser and better, not to seek its destruction on pretence of its errors or misfortunes. But, notwithstanding all its efforts, "I firmly believe," said he, "that the gentlemen of this house will never consent to yield themselves up to the minister. I am satisfied that the people of Ireland will never consent to the annihilation of their parliament. If ever this assembly should consent to its own immolation; if ever the members of the Irish House of Commons should assent to an act for turning themselves out of doors, hope shall not quit me, until the last man shall have passed the door, which the minister would close upon our liberties. When they shall approach that door, if they but cast a look behind; if they but view that chair, where integrity now sits enthroned; if their eyes but linger on that floor, where patriot eloquence has been poured forth for their country; if they but recollect the struggles of honourable legislation, which these walls have witnessed; they will stop before they take the last irretrievable step; they will cling to this house, the temple of their honour, and will say to the minister: You have taken an unjust advantage of our confidence, to desire us to ruin our country; you have taken a most ungenerous advantage of the state of that country, to seduce its parliament to annihilate itself and the liberties of its constituents; but we will show you, that you have deceived yourself in the calculation of our baseness; we will show you that we represent an honest, brave, and generous people, and are worthy to represent them; we will not flatter, but we will serve them, and establish an eternal claim to their gratitude and to the gratitude of posterity."

The attorney general entered into a history of the progress of faction in Ireland, and largely indulged in invective against the leaders of opposition, and the whig club.

Mr. Bushe censured the last speaker for his endeavours to identify anti-unionism with disaffection to the sovereign. He cautioned the ministry against propounding the dangerous doctrine of the incompatibility of British connexion with Hibernian inde-

and still more sad, because the very circumstance of a motley opposition shows, that the smallest presumption in favour of an Union cannot be deduced from it. How ingeniously and logically the noble lord argues! "A legislative Union, gentlemen, is a most excellent thing; for yonder stands a man who has supported parliamentary reform; an Union is an excellent thing, for yonder is a man who proposed to divide the country into French departments; this Union is a most powerful remedy for all your evils, for yonder sits an honourable gentleman, who would have emancipated the Catholics of Ireland!" These, it must be allowed, are very conclusive arguments, why you should relinquish that parliament, which alone can secure the liberties of the people!

pendence ; a doctrine which would paralyse the loyalty of the Irish, and shake the first and best principles of politics in the island to their foundations. He exposed the injustice, with which Ireland had been treated by Great Britain, and affirmed, that all the concessions of the latter had been wrung from her like drops of her heart's blood.* He could not think without horror of the provincial despotism which would succeed the present government of Ireland ; and he exhorted Britain to beware of the formidable precedent of uncontrolled power holding five millions of people in chains. He ridiculed the various pretences for the measure, as ill-founded and absurd ; asserted the full sufficiency and superior qualifications of the Irish parliament for every purpose of just and equitable government ; and concluded a very long and impressive discourse with an appeal to the spirit of 1782, and to the protecting care of Providence for the preservation of his country.

When Mr. Prendergast had spoken in favour of an union, Mr. J. M. O'Donnell declared that he opposed it because he considered it as ruinous and disgraceful, because he knew the foul means which had been practised to carry it into effect, and because he did not conceive that the parliament had a right to sacrifice the constitution of the country.

Mr. Osborne represented the inefficacy of the settlement of 1782, and the risque of separation, as strong grounds for a legislative union.

Mr. Hardy spoke against the Union ;† as did also Mr. Arthur Moore. He condemned the ministerial practices of corruption and intimidation, the wicked and unconstitutional means to which the government had resorted, in order to impose upon the coun-

* Thus Mr. Bushe expressed himself upon this point, which more materially affects the general subject of this history, than the particular question of Union. " You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up ? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The treasury bench startles at the assertion,—*Non meus hic sermo est*. If the treasury bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them,—it is his assertion in so many words in his speech — Ireland, says he, *has been always treated with injustice and illiberality*.—Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, or the candour of Mr. Pitt ; it is history. For centuries has the British nation and parliament kept you down ; shackled your commerce ; paralysed your exertions ; despised your character ; and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own parliament from the illiberality of England."

† This gentleman as well as Mr. O'Donnell denied the assertion made from the treasury bench, that nineteen counties had petitioned for the Union.

try, destroy the parliament, and overturn the constitution. If the measure should be carried under all the circumstances he had alluded to, it would be a robbery, and not a treaty ; an act of constraint and violence, not of compact and volition ; a conquest, not an Union. An Union formed upon such principles, and accomplished by such means, policy never could require, justice never could sanctify, wisdom never approve, patriotism never reconcile, time never cement, force never establish. It might be an Union for a few days, a few months perhaps for a few years ; but it would be followed by ages of ill blood, generations of hostility, centuries of contest and desolation, and misery to that island to all eternity. It would be an Union founded on the violation of public faith, erected on national degradation, equally subversive of the moral, physical, and political fitness of things, and equally odious and abominable in the sight of God and man.

Sir John Parnell said, that he would support the amendment for the purpose of preventing those disturbances and that separation from Great Britain, which some gentlemen had accused the Anti-unionists of promoting.

Sir John Blaquiere recommended an Union chiefly for the convenience of Great Britain, which was obliged, by the distractions and divisions of Ireland, to employ for her internal safety a force, that might be more beneficially used in support of the general interests of the empire.

Dr. Browne had become more inclined to an Union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from intermediate circumstances. After the scenes which he had witnessed in that country during the rebellion, and for some time after, he expressly declared to some very respectable and dignified friends, who well remembered it, that he thought such an union under the then existing circumstances desirable, and he never did at any time shew the heat and fury upon the subject, which other men had done. The disposition of the college in general was against it ; but was so far from being universal, that nearly half of the governing part of the society favoured it. And some of them had said, they would never vote for the man who opposed the Union.

It did not seem to him a good method of promoting the Union, to persecute every man with calumny and abuse, who said, that he thought they ought to hear what England proposed, even though he rested that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety. If opposition to the Union proceeded from love of the nation, he respected it ; if from regard to individual power, or personal aggrandizement, he concerned not himself about it.

Had he seen after the rejection of the Union last year any measures brought forward to conciliate the people, or to heal the

distractions of the country ; had he seen any reviviscence of that spirit, which produced the constitution of 1782, coming forward to preserve it, he should not have listened to proposals of Union. But for gentlemen to suppose, that if parliament did not support itself, it could be supported ; to suppose that without domestic virtue, the nation would trouble itself about its existence, was absurd. The truth was, apathy had gone through the nation upon the subject ; in 1782, the idea of an Union could not have been brought forward ; in 1785, it could not have been brought forward ; why could it then ? Because then the parliament had the warm affections of the nation, and now it had not.

The method of preventing Union was not by rebellion, nor by Orange systems : nor by looking for republics, nor by holding up every man as a rebel, who disapproved of particular measures ; it should have been by regular obedience to the laws, and constitutional parliamentary opposition to the proposed measure.

The measures of last session to which he had alluded particularly, were the rebellion bill and the Fitzgerald bill. The first, which he knew was rather forced upon the government than sought for by it, and which therefore was not imputable to the executive power, enabled any petty officer to take up any person on the vague charge of assisting the rebellion, on his mere suspicion founded on any foolish word or indiscreet trifling action, try him, and execute him, without the possibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law still existed. Why did they not feel it ? Why not know it ? Why were they ignorant that they lived under such power ? Because the wisdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodness of the chief governor prevented it ; he could not forget, that he lived under such law ; he could not forget that the parliament, while it contended against the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquished them all, or that to-morrow a hot, or impudent, or weak successor might make them feel this unbounded power in its excess.

The other, which he called the Fitzgerald bill, made for a particular instance, as it was thought it would, screened the greatest outrage upon private innocence that was ever known. To his certain knowledge, no measure ever so much promoted the Union, nor made so many converts among the dispassionate viewers of their conduct in England, and that country. The abuse upon that occasion neither tended to peace, nor was true ; he had found in England, and so he said a year ago to his constituents, more coolness, more kind disposition to their country than among the sons of Ireland, and to represent it as always hostile evidently tended to separation.

Mr. Plunket in a very long and animated speech reflected severely on dr. Browne's change of opinion. He went over the old

field of argument ; traced the proceedings of the government from the first mention of the scheme, censured both the measure and the means ; and earnestly exhorted the ministry not to offer violence to the settled principles or shake the settled loyalty of the country.

The prime serjeant took notice of the arts which had been practised by the Anti-union faction, to delude and inflame the people. He accused the leaders of that party of having resorted to the usual auxiliaries of a bad cause—virulence, misrepresentation, clamor, and sedition. He then appealed to the well-meaning and highly-respectable gentlemen who had opposed the Union, from a sincere opinion of its impolicy, whether it were just or candid to co-operate with the faction in preventing a cool discussion of the measure. As a great proportion of the kingdom had declared in its favour, he thought it the duty of the representatives of the people to give it a fair investigation.

Mr. Barrington, by serious reflection, was confirmed in his opinion that a revolutionary measure arising from the ashes of a rebellion, and grounded on the distractions of a nation, could not be permanent ; and he dreaded the ultimate loss of British connexion from the pertinacity of those ministers, who wished to deprive Ireland of her independence.

Sir John Macartney and Mr. Egan supported, and Mr. Luke Fox opposed the amendment.

Mr. Grattan entered the house between Mr. William B. Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, whilst Mr. Egan was on his legs actually referring to the constitution of 1782. The re-appearance in parliament of the founder of that constitution, at that critical moment, and under those awful circumstances, electrified the house and galleries with an indescribable emotion of terrific joy and expectation. On rising to speak, he referred to the adjustment of 1782. The minister of Great Britain, he said, had come forward in two celebrated productions ; he declared his intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland ; that constitution, which he ordered the several viceroy's to celebrate, in defence of which he recommended the French war, and to which he swore the yeoman, that constitution he now declared to be a miserable imperfection, concurring with the men, whom he had executed for thinking the Irish parliament a grievance ; differing from them in the remedy only : they proposing to substitute a republic, and he the yoke of the British parliament. They had seen him inveigh against their projects ; let them hear him in defence of his own : he denied in the face of the two nations a public fact registered and recorded ; he disclaimed the final adjustment, as being no more than an incipient train of negotiation. That settlement consisted of several parts, every part a record, establishing on the

whole two grand positions : first, the admission of Ireland's claim to be legislated by no other parliament but that of Ireland : secondly, the finality imposed upon the two nations ; regarding all constitutional projects affecting each other. Finality was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects ; finality was the principal object of England, as legislative independency was the object of Ireland.

Having spoken very largely to the two points of regency and war, on which the Unionists rested their strongest arguments against the constitution of 1782, he thus continued : " I will put a question to my country. I will suppose her at the bar, and I will then ask, Will you fight for an Union as you would for a constitution ? Will you fight for those lords and commons, who in the last century, took away your trade, and in the present your constitution, as for that king, lords, and commons who restored both ? Well, the minister has destroyed this constitution. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate ; and, as the fall is of no time, so neither is it the effect of any strength. That constitution, which with more or less violence has been the inheritance of this country for six hundred years ; that *modus tetendi parlamentum*, which lasted and out-lasting of Plantagenet the wars, of Tudor the violence, and of Stuart the systematic falsehood ; even the bond and condition of our connexion, are now the objects of ministerial attack. The constitution which he destroys is one of the pillars of British empire ; dear in its violation, dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts : it was the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty, where she had hung up the sword of the volunteer ; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and in a long repose. I have done with the pile which the minister batters, I come to the Babel which he builds ; and, as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls an Union ; and to this his fabric there are two striking objections. First, it is no Union : it is not an identification of people, for it excludes the Catholics : Secondly, it is a consolidation of the legislatures ; that is to say, it merges the Irish parliament, and incurs every objection to an Union, without obtaining the only object which an Union professes : it is an extinction of the constitution, and an exclusion of the people."

What was the language of the minister's advocates to the Catholic body ? " You were before the Union, as three to one ; you will be by the Union as one to four." Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the extinction of physical consequence,

and makes the inanity of their body and the non-entity of their country the pillars of their future ambition. He afterwards observed, that the minister, by his first plan, as detailed by his advocates, not only excluded the Catholics from parliament, but also deprived the Protestants of a due representation in that assembly; that he struck off one half of the representatives of counties, and preserved the proportion of boroughs as two to one; thus dismissing for ever the questions of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform: that, instead of reforming abuses in church and state, he wished to entail them on posterity; that, in lieu of Protestant ascendancy and Catholic participation, he proposed to constitute borough ascendancy in perpetual abuse and dominion; that it was his aim to reform the British parliament by nearly sixty boroughs, and that of Ireland by nearly five hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch members, and thus by mutual misrepresentation frame an imperial House of Commons, who would become the host of ministers, not the representatives of the people.

Of the predicament in which the new members would be placed, he said, never was there a situation, in which men would have so much temptation to act ill, and so little to act well. Subject to great expense and consequent distresses, having no support from the voice of an Irish public, no check, they would be in situation a sort of gentlemen of the empire, that is to say, gentlemen at large, unowned by one country, and unelected by the other, suspended between both, false to both, and belonging to neither. The sagacious British secretary of state had remarked, how great would be the advantage to the talents of Ireland, to have this opportunity in the British empire thus opened! that was what they dreaded: that the market of St. Stephen would be opened to the individual, and the talents of the country, like its property, draughted from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London. These men, from their situation (man was the child of situation), though their native honour might struggle, would be the adventurers of a most expensive kind, adventurers with pretensions, dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-clothes of the Irish parliament, and playing for hire their tricks on her tomb, the only repository the minister would allow to an Irish constitution; the images of degradation and the representatives of nothing; he then noticed the bribes offered by Mr. Pitt. To the Protestant church perpetual security was promised; but a measure that would annihilate the parliament by which that church was upholden, and disfranchise the people who supported that establishment, would rather tend, he said, to its disgrace and ruin.

To the Catholic clergy salaries were promised. Those who had been strongly accused of disloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treasons against the king, if they would commit real treason against the people. Salaries, he allowed, might reasonably be given to those sectaries for the exercise of religious duty ; but he could not approve the grant of wages for political apostasy. According to this plan, the Catholic religion would seem to disqualify its followers from receiving the blessings of the constitution, while their hostility to that constitution qualified them to receive a salary for the exercise of their religion, which would thus be at once punished by civil disability and encouraged by ecclesiastical provision : as good Catholics they would be disqualified, and, as bad citizens, would be rewarded.

A commutation of tithes formed another bribe. It had formerly been observed by some of the king's ministers, in opposition to a proposal of that kind from Mr. Grattan, that it would tend to the overthrow of the church ; but now, he said, the premier was not unwilling to overturn the church, if he could at the same time overturn the constitution.

Bribes were also offered to the mercantile body. Commercial benefits were holden out for political annihilation ; and an abundance of capital was promised ; but first, a great part of the landed capital of the country would be taken away by the necessary operations of an Union. This rival being removed, commercial capital, it was supposed, would quickly take its place. But these and other promises of the minister would probably be found visionary. He goes on (said Mr. Grattan) asserting with great ease to himself, and without any obligation to fact, upon the subject. Icarian imagination is the region in which he delights to sport. Where he is to take away your parliament, where he is to take away your first judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to increase your taxes, where he is to get an Irish tribute, there he is a plain direct matter-of-fact man ; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic ; no longer a third-hand financier, but an inspired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand ; Amalthea takes him by the hand ; Ceres is in his train. The English capitalist, he thinks, will settle his family in the midst of those Irish Catholics, whom he does not think it safe to admit into parliament ; as subjects, he thinks them dangerous ; as a neighbouring multitude, safe. The English manufacturer will make this distinction : he will dread them as individuals, but will confide in them as a body, and settle his family and his property in the midst of them ; he will therefore, the minister supposes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leave his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland

to meet his taxes, and miss his constitution. The manufacturers did not do this when the taxes of Ireland were few, or when there was no military government in Ireland: however, as prejudices against this country increase, he supposes that commercial confidence may increase likewise. There is no contradicting all this, because arguments which reason does not suggest reason cannot remove. Besides, the minister in all this does not argue, but foretell; now you cannot answer a prophet, you can only disbelieve him. The premier finds a great absentee draught: he gives you another; and, having secured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Among the principal causes of complaint, we may reckon another effect arising from the non-residence of the Irish landlords, whose presence on their own estates is necessary for the succour, as well as the improvement of their tenantry; that the peasants may not perish for want of medicines, of cordial, or of cure, which they can only find in the administration of the landlord, who civilizes them, and regulates them in the capacity of a magistrate, while he covers them and husbands them in that of a protector, improving not only them but himself by the exercise of his virtues, as well as by the dispensation of his property, drawing together the two orders of society, the rich and the poor, until each may administer to the other, and civilize the one by giving, and the other by receiving; so that aristocracy and democracy may have a head and a body; so that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may support the rich; and both contributing to the strength, order, and beauty of the state, may form that pillar of society where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the minister's plan accomplish this? He withdraws the landed gentlemen, and then improves Irish manners by English factors. The minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and to register this proclamation in an act, which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability; and he accompanies these monstrous proposals by undisguised terror and unqualified bribery; and this he calls no attack on the honour and dignity of the kingdom. The thing which he proposes to buy is what cannot be sold—liberty. For it he has nothing to give. Every thing of value which you possess you obtained under a free constitution: if you resign this, you must not only be slaves but idiots. His propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. He tells you (it is his main argument) that you are unfit to exercise a free constitution; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of parliament impeaching ministers; but here is a minister impeaching parliament. He does more; he impeaches the parlia-

mentary constitution itself. The abuses in that constitution he has protected ; it is only its existence that he destroys : and on what ground ? Your exports since your emancipation, under that constitution, and in a great measure by it, have been nearly doubled ; commercially therefore it has worked well. Your concord with England since the emancipation, as far as it relates to parliament, on the subject of war, has been not only improved, but has been productive ; imperially, therefore, it has worked well. To what then does the minister in fact object ? that you have supported him, that you have concurred in his system : therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the parliament, and to continue the minister. He does more ; he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place, to destroy the body that restored your liberties, and restore that body, which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

Mr. Corry replied at large to Mr. Grattan. The inferiority of the Irish constitution was obvious in the want of that power of controlling the exercise of the royal prerogative in questions of peace and war, which the British lords and commons possessed. Where, he might ask, was the control of the Hibernian parliament over the British minister advising the king to declare war, when even with respect to the minister in Ireland the power of that borough was totally inoperative over what the honourable gentleman himself had so often expressively termed the fugacious responsibility of those, who could elude the grasp of parliament, and scoff at its authority by stepping on board of the packet ?

On the division about ten o'clock in the morning, 96 voted for the amendment, 138 against it. This majority of 42 exceeded the warmest expectations of government ; and the viceroy hoped to increase it by allowing an interval of some weeks to pass, before he sent to either house a copy of the resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Anti-unionists by a majority of 42, flushed the minister with confidence, and drove their opponents almost to desperation. The members were now so far marshalled into their ranks, that considerable changes or conversions were not to be expected on either side : some solitary instances of conversions did appear. No means of conversion or confirmation were omitted on either side. In order to counteract the first effects of this ministerial triumph in the capital, within an hour or two after the adjournment of the House of Commons (at ten o'clock on the 16th of January) an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was convened by instant requisition, at which they passed very strong resolutions,* and amongst

* The following were the proceedings of the meeting, which shew the spirit of that day.

others a most enthusiastic panegyric on the talents, virtue, and patriotism of Mr. Grattan, their late member. The quick shiftings of the *popularis aura* should not here pass unnoticed. The ingratitude and calumnies of Mr. Grattan's late constituents had

AGGREGATE MEETING.

16th January, 1800.

At a most numerous and respectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, assembled this day by requisition, at the Session house,

The HIGH SHERIFFS in the Chair,

The following gentlemen were constituted a committee, who reported the following resolutions and address, which were unanimously agreed to by the meeting; Mr. Hartley, Mr. Dease, Mr. Rawlins, Mr. R. M'Donnell, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Alderman Howison.

" 1. That the constitution of Ireland, as established at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeasible and unalienable right of ourselves and our posterity.

" 2. That we do most solemnly and firmly protest against any act, which in destroying that constitution, exceeds the powers with which our representatives in parliament have been invested; and we do assert, that they have no right to adopt the disgraceful proposal of this our extinction for ever. Their powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unscriptable and immortal.

" 3. That the re-proposal of the measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain to the same parliament, which not a year since rejected even its discussion with indignation, is as insulting, as its consequences may be dreadful.

" 4. That the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a parliamentary concurrence in this measure, and a delusive approbation of the people, are base and unconstitutional; and we call on those who supported the measure, to recollect, that while they think they can violate the constitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a solemn oath to maintain it.

" 5. That we contemplate with horror, the ungenerous language held to us in the hour of our distress. The manner in which we acquired our glorious constitution is openly avowed; it remains only for us to say, that a constitution which we proudly asserted, ought never to be basely surrendered, and we pledge ourselves most solemnly, while we have life, we never will be the living slaves of dishonourable negociation.

" 6. That we hail the auspicious moment of internal unanimity, when the cordial concurrence and co-operation of all sects and persuasions, as common brothers in a common cause, shall render any attempt upon our liberties, from whatever quarter it may proceed, disgraceful and ineffectual.

" 7. That the grateful thanks of this meeting be returned to the virtuous minority of the House of Commons, who supported the independence of Ireland, by opposing a legislative Union with Great Britain.

" 8. That our worthy representatives, J. C. Beresford, esq. and the right honourable George Ogle, highly merit, and we do hereby tender them our sincere acknowledgments for their uniform and steady opposition to an attempt to annihilate the independence of Ireland.

" 9. That our warmest thanks and gratitude are due, and are hereby given to the right honourable John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons, whose virtuous and patriotic conduct have endeared him to every Irishman, who loves his country; and that we can never despair of the success of a cause, supported by the talents and virtue of a man, who has on all occasions proved himself the steady friend of Ireland.

" 10. That we feel the most lively satisfaction at the return of our late able and virtuous representative, H. Grattan, esq. to our senate, at this alarming

weighed not lightly in the scale, which turned that gentleman's resolution to retire from parliament. They now placed him at the head of the triumvirate of their affections and adoration with Messrs. Foster and Ogle, who had been unceasing objects of Mr.

" crisis of our liberty ; and that we derive the most encouraging presage from
 " the addition of such splendid talents, and such well-tried virtue, to the ho-
 " nest friends of Ireland, who, unseduced by corruption, and unawed by pow-
 " er, have continued firm to the trust reposed in them by their country ; and
 " that the following address be presented to Mr. Grattan :

" SIR,

" FOR your spirit and patriotism, accept our most grate-
 " ful acknowledgments. You have come forward at a time most critical to
 " Irish liberty, to save the constitution.

" This attempt of the minister, the annexation for ever of the kingdom of
 " Ireland to the British parliament, is hateful to every lover of his country.
 " When you so illustriously distinguished yourself in establishing the inde-
 " pendence of the Irish legislature, the support of the people was not wanting.
 " You will have it on this occasion, and with your virtues and talents, it would
 " be criminal to despair of success."

" Resolved, That the high sheriffs be requested to present said resolutions
 " and address, accompanied by such freemen and freeholders as choose to at-
 " tend.

" Resolved, That the aforesaid resolutions, with the answers of the speaker,
 " our representatives, and Mr. Grattan, (when received) be printed."

The high sheriff having quitted the chair, it was taken by Mr. Alderman Crothers, and the unanimous thanks of the meeting were returned to the high sheriffs, for their patriotic conduct displayed by their readiness in calling this meeting, and their highly proper conduct in the chair.

The high sheriffs were pleased to appoint Saturday, at one o'clock, to meet at the Royal Exchange, to proceed to the several gentlemen with the resolutions of thanks, &c.

The following are the answers to the above resolutions :

" GENTLEMEN,

" I AM truly thankful for your approbation of my conduct,
 " and the very flattering terms in which it is expressed.

" A sincere conviction of the ruinous consequences attendant on a legisla-
 " tive Union, bound me to oppose it. Every day's reflection since has served
 " to increase that conviction, and to shew me that the great safeguard and true
 " security of our own liberties, and of what is equally dear to every loyal Irish-
 " man, our perpetual connexion with Great Britain, lie in the preservation of
 " a separate independent parliament within the kingdom, under the constitu-
 " tion established and ratified in 1782.

" Accept my warmest thanks, and believe me to be with the most sincere
 " respect and attachment your, very faithful and obedient servant,

" JOHN FOSTER."

" GENTLEMEN,

" YOUR resolution does us great honour ; we are grate-
 " ful for it. When we cease to deserve your confidence, we hope you will
 " withdraw it from us for ever.

" J. C. BRESFORD.

" GEORGE OGLE."

" GENTLEMEN,

" I AGREE with you in thinking the present crisis to be
 " truly alarming. After considering the project of an Union fully, fairly, and
 " dispassionately, with every advantage promised and professed, I do really

Grattan's opposition during the whole course of his political career in parliament.

On the 15th of February, 1800, petitions against a legislative Union with Great Britain were received from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh, as also from the city of Limerick, and the town of Belfast, and several others. When on the introduction of the Tipperary petition,

Mr. Bagwell (one of the representatives of that county) declared, that notwithstanding the support he had been induced to give the measure of a legislative Union, on the first night of the session, from the resolutions of a number of his respectable constituents, in favour of it, having been presented to him by the high sheriff; yet, on inspecting the list of names affixed to the petition before the house, he observed so large a majority of the independence and property of the county, among whom he discerned the names of several, who had before declared a different sentiment on the question, that he was now determined to oppose the measure whenever brought forward in parliament.

Sir L. Parsons stated to the house an act, which he considered as the greatest enormity, an high infringement of the privileges of parliament, and a violation of the liberties of the subject. He said he had it from a most respectable authority, which he named, that some time ago Major Rogers, who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of assembling the freeholders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a legislative Union, the major replied he would disperse them by force if they attempted any such thing; that the major, however, applied to government for direction: what answer or directions he received could only be judged of by his immediate conduct. On Sunday last several magistrates and respectable inhabitants assembled in the session-house, when the high sheriff (Mr. Derby) went to them and ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them; they were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching; the assembly had but just time to vote the resolutions, but not to sign them; they broke up, and as they went out of the session-house, they saw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every disposition for an attack upon the session-house; a building so

"and sincerely think it the worst measure ever proposed in this country. I shall contribute my mite to oppose it; I have no confidence in the powers of my own broken and shattered exertions; but I have sufficient strength remaining to bear my last testimony against an Union.

"HENRY GRATTAN."

Dublin, Jan. 18, 1800.

constructed, that if a cannon had been fired, it must have fallen on the magistrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman spoke to major Rogers on the subject of his approaching in that hostile manner; his answer was, that he waited but for one word from the sheriff, that he might blow them to atoms! These were the dreadful measures, sir Laurence said, by which government endeavoured to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission. He then proposed two resolutions to the house to the following effect:

1st. "That to prevent by military force the freeholders of any county from meeting to petition parliament, is a gross violation of the privileges of this house, and a subversion of the constitution."

2d. "That Verney Derby, esq. and major Rogers do attend at the bar of this house on Wednesday next."

Mr. Bowes Daly seconded the motion. He reprobated such violent conduct, and hoped country gentlemen would make a common cause of it.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had never before, either in his official or parliamentary capacity, heard a syllable of the matter then stated to the house. The honourable baronet ought to have come prepared with proofs of the facts alleged; but his manner seemed more calculated to inflame than to inform. He had assumed as fact, perhaps upon very slight authority, an outrage which every man must condemn, if true; and then he had thought proper to impute to government the odium of that outrage. As to the first resolution, his lordship said it would be derogatory to the dignity of parliament to vote an acknowledged truism. It was one of the many inflammatory tricks which had of late been frequently played off, and if now adopted would seem to admit the fact alleged, by unnecessarily declaring a principle always and universally asserted.

Sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, and Mr. J. C. Beresford spoke against the enormity of the alleged offence; but they agreed that the parties accused should be heard at the bar; and, upon the suggestion of those gentlemen, sir Laurence Parsons withdrew his first resolution, and the second passed unanimously.

Then lord Castlereagh acquainted the house that he had a *message from his excellency the lord lieutenant, which he read;

• "CORNWALLIS,

"AT the close of the last session, in obedience to the particular commands which I received from his majesty, I acquainted this parliament, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain

and then proceeded in great confidence to lay open the plan of the Union, which he now looked up to as a certainty.

He prefaced his speech with some remarks on the unfavourable reception, which had attended it in the preceding year, and on the change of sentiment, which had taken place in the minds of many who were then hostile to the measure. The resistance to it, he said, had been principally occasioned by ignorance of its nature and misrepresentation of its effects. In proportion as it was more deliberately and fully investigated, the opposition to it became less general, and the clamours less violent. The great body of the landed property in Ireland became friendly to the principle; for the property of those who had declared in favour of it in the two houses of parliament, was, in comparison with that of its opponents, nearly in the proportion of three to one. Nineteen counties, whose superficial contents formed five-sevenths of the island, had come forward in its support. He did not mean to assert, that these counties were unanimous in approving the measure. Complete and perfect unanimity was not to be expected upon any great political question; but he would venture to assert, that a very great proportion of the property in those counties decidedly favoured it, and most of the great commercial towns in the kingdom had also declared in its favour. Dublin was then affected, as Edinburgh had been at the time of the union with Scotland; and he trusted would like Edinburgh have cause to be

“ had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections.

“ I have it now further in command from his majesty to lay those resolutions before this house, and solemnly to recommend to the consideration of his faithful commons the great objects they embrace.

“ His majesty has observed with increasing satisfaction, that the sentiments which have continued to be manifested in favour of this important and salutary measure by such numerous and respectable descriptions of his Irish subjects, confirm the hope he has expressed, that its accomplishment will prove to be as much the joint wish as it unquestionably is the common interest of both his kingdoms; an event to which his majesty looks forward with the utmost earnestness, as the only means, by which the common interests of all his people can be indissolubly united, and their security and happiness can be permanently established.

“ His majesty therefore relies on the wisdom of his parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of his people for the completion of this great work, with a firm persuasion that a full and unreserved participation of constitutional and commercial advantages will augment and perpetuate the prosperity of his subjects of his united kingdom, and that under the favour of Divine Providence the freedom and power of the British empire will be established on a foundation not to be shaken by the efforts either of its foreign or domestic enemies.”

thankful to Providence for the accomplishment of an union with Great Britain.

He then animadverted on the proceedings of the chief adversaries of the Union, who not satisfied with exercising their deliberative powers within those walls, but organizing themselves in another place, empowering certain persons* to send their letters missive through the country, and establishing agents in the different counties, to bring the mass of the people to the bar of that house, as petitioners against the measure of Union. He was sorry to say, that some of the agents of those gentlemen had gone forth with the most unwarrantable pretences, and adopted the most treacherous artifices, and the most ludicrous misrepresentations, to deceive and distract the populace, whose signatures against an Union they wished to obtain. That had also been the case in the Scottish Union? The table of the parliament was day after day, for the space of three months, covered with such petitions: but the Scottish legislators acted as, he trusted, the Irish parliament would act; they considered only the public advantage; and, steadily pursuing that object, neither misled by artifices nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country that reward which amply compensated their arduous labours in the great work so happily accomplished.

The principle of the measure had been investigated with such depth of argument and such sound ability,† in a speech, which had been since committed to the press, that he considered it as placed beyond question or doubt.

With regard to the mode of proceeding, which the projectors of the scheme intended to adopt, he premised, that it was originally their wish to follow the form pursued in the Union with Scotland, and to propose the appointment of commissioners of both realms, who might digest articles for the consideration of the two parliaments; but that, as this plan had been prevented by the refusal of the Irish House of Commons to allow a discussion of the question, it became expedient for his majesty's ministers to adopt measures which might defeat the misrepresentations of their views, and unfold to this kingdom the liberal intentions of Great Britain. For this purpose they had introduced into the British parliament those articles, which had been now transmitted to Ireland, forming a basis for more extensive resolutions. After the minute investigation of these articles in the parliament of Ireland, and the detailed application of the general principles involved in them, the matured scheme would be submitted to the

* Alluding to the marquis of Downshire, &c. vide antea.

† By Mr. Smith.

approbation of each legislature, and eventually sanctioned by solemn acts.

The secretary's first proposition stated the grand object in terms similar to those of the first resolution of the British parliament. The three articles which followed tended to establish the complete identity of the executive power in every possibility of circumstance and in every application of authority. Some would think that this object was secured by the act of annexation; but, though he venerated that act as the only bond now connecting this realm with Britain, he considered it, both in principle and operation, as extremely defective. In principle, it gave to the parliament of another country, in which the Irish are not represented, one of the most important legislative powers, that of regulating the succession to the crown. That the practice was not less defective than the principle, appeared in the case of the regency; for the prince of Wales was absolutely constituted regent by the address of the Irish legislature, before any regent was appointed by Great Britain.

To prove the danger of so imperfect a connexion his lordship instanced the conduct of James II, when after his abdication of the crown of England, he repaired to Ireland, and made use of the parliament as an instrument for erecting his opposition to England, and establishing a distinct monarchy in Ireland.*

He then put some illustrative questions, respecting the predicament in which Ireland stood in the important cases of war, of peace, and of treaties. He then referred to a more frequent and just ground of complaint in that house, that the Irish minister, acting as he did under the direction of a British cabinet, was not responsible to the Irish parliament from the moment of his withdrawing from this kingdom, unless by a derogation from our independence, we should impeach him at the bar of the parliament of Great Britain for offending against the constitution of Ireland. Who, he asked, advised the measures of the Irish government? The English minister. And how could the Irish parliament reach *him*? Who administered the great seal of England, without which no legislative act could be ratified? An English minister. And how could the Irish parliament reach *him*? In short, how could an efficient and constitutional responsibility be obtained, but by making the jurisdiction of parliament as comprehensive as the executive power? And this could be effected by an Union alone.

He separately and successively refuted all the objections made against the Union, as to its reducing Ireland to a mere colony, as to its weakening the executive power in Ireland, as to the impo-

* Vide *antea*, Vol. I.

tency of a non-resident parliament, and as to future commercial and financial arrangements.

He then entered into the following detail.

Upon a comparison of the average value of the imports and exports of Great Britain for three years, ending with January, 1799, compared with those of Ireland ending on the 25th of March preceding, he found that the value of British commerce amounted to 73,961,899*l.* and that of Irish commerce to 10,925,961*l.* and that they bear the proportion to each other of nearly seven to one. On a similar comparison of the value of the following articles, viz. malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco, and sugar, consumed in the respective countries, he found that the value of the British articles amounted to 46,891,655*l.* and that of the Irish articles to 5,954,856*l.* forming a proportion of 7 and 7-8ths to one. The medium, therefore, or $7\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 was to be taken as the fair proportion; and upon this principle Great Britain ought to contribute fifteen parts, and Ireland two, to the general expenses of the empire.

In the article which related to this head, the first section provided, that the past debts of the two kingdoms should be borne by them respectively; and, if they coupled this liberal provision with the ninth section of the article, which gave to Ireland a participation in whatever sums might be produced from the territorial revenues of the dependencies of Great Britain in India, they would acknowledge not only the justice but the generosity of the terms. Great Britain held out to Ireland a proportional enjoyment of all the advantages of the empire, without requiring the smallest participation in the burthens, which she had incurred to procure them; and Ireland would acquire a revenue of 58,000*l.* a year, in ease of her own burthens, out of the revenues paid by the East India company, from the territories subdued by British arms.

By the second section, the proportional contribution of 15 to 2 would continue for twenty years, that the system of the Union might acquire stability, before it should be subjected to the slightest modification.

When he stated the system of contributing on the principal of proportional ability, he was aware that a natural objection would arise, that, however fair or liberal the system might appear at present, it might at a future period, and under different circumstances, prove to be both partial and disadvantageous. It was therefore intended, that the imperial parliament should have a power to revise the proportion at the given period he had mentioned, but that the revision should be grounded upon the same principles, upon which the original proportion was formed, and limited to the result of those principles. Their contributions,

therefore, might hereafter vary according to their relative increased or diminished ability ; but, until the period of a common taxation should have arisen, the principles and the basis of their contribution were unalterably fixed. The only power reserved to the imperial parliament, was to examine and ascertain the *criteria*, by which the abilities of the two countries were to be determined : the *criteria* themselves were to remain unaltered and unalterable : and, since they were of such a nature that they could not fail of leading to a fair result. Ireland had by these means the utmost possible security, that she could not be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and that the ratio of her contribution must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity.

By the fourth section, the revenues of Ireland would constitute a consolidated fund, which would be charged in the first place with the interest and sinking fund of the debt of Ireland, and be afterwards appropriated to its proportional contribution. The fifth section gave power to the imperial parliament to impose such taxes in Ireland as might be necessary for her contingent ; but it should in no case be enabled to impose higher taxes, after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the same article should bear in Great Britain. The sixth section ascertained the manner, in which any surplus of the revenues of Ireland might be applied. There were four considerations which occurred with respect to any occasional excess of revenue. The first, and most obvious, was the diminution of taxes ; the second, the application of such excess to local purposes of ornament or improvement in Ireland ; the third to provide against any possible failure of revenue ; the fourth to suffer such excess to accumulate at compound interest, in case of their contribution in a future period of war.

It was provided by the seventh section, that all future loans, for the interest and liquidation of which the respective countries had made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions, should be considered as a joint debt ; and, on the other hand, that, where they did not make corresponding provisions, their respective quotas of the sum so raised should remain a separate charge.

The eighth section contained a provision, that, when the separate debts of the two kingdoms should be either extinguished, or in the proportion of their respective contributions, the general expenses of the empire might be thenceforward borne by common taxes, in lieu of proportional contribution. It might perhaps be alleged, that common taxes with Great Britain would impose upon that kingdom heavier burthens than she would otherwise be required to support. But let the house consider, that the charges of the debt of Great Britain amounted to twenty millions a year, and the charges

of the debt of Ireland to 1,300,000*l.* of British money a year ; and that common taxes were not to take place, till either the past and separate debts of both countries should be liquidated, or till they should become to each other in the proportion of their contributions ; that is, in the ratio of 15 to 2. Before that could take place, the taxes of Great Britain must be reduced by the amount of ten millions a year ; in which case, the scale of her remaining taxation would be lowered to the scale of taxation in Ireland, and the adoption of British taxation would become a benefit. A similar result would take place, and to a greater degree, were the past debt of the two countries to be entirely liquidated : for, in that event, Ireland would be exonerated from taxes, to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* a year, and Britain to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* and the system of common taxation would become still more beneficial to Ireland. It might happen, however, that if war should continue, and Ireland fund her supplies, whilst England raised a great part of hers within the year, and mortgaged her income tax to their rapid reduction in peace, the proportion of the debt of Ireland might rise, and her scale of taxation increase accordingly. In this case, also, the system of common taxation perfectly secured the interests of Ireland, being produced by natural causes and in no degree forced. It could not impose any burthen on that country, to which she would not in the ordinary course of her expenditure be liable, whilst the provision, which went to preclude any article from being subject to a higher rate of duty in Ireland than the same article paid in Great Britain, would exempt her from having the scale of her taxation raised above that of England, even though the natural progress of her expense should lead to it.

And whilst Ireland was thus secured against any injustice in substituting a system of common taxes for proportional contribution, the united parliament would be enabled to make abatements in Ireland, as the parliament of Great Britain always had done in Scotland since the Union ; where, from local circumstances, the high duty could not be levied without either rendering the revenue unproductive, or pressing with too much weight upon the poorer classes.

It remained for him to consider the operation and effect of this article, and how far the proportion of $7\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 might be favourable or otherwise to Ireland, considered with reference to the past expenses of the two countries, as also to their probable future expenditure.

The peace establishment of Great Britain, in the year preceding the war, amounted to 5,806,744*l.* and that of Ireland to 1,012,523*l.* The proportion of these sums is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. On an average of seven years, from the commencement of the war, Great Britain had expended in each year 27,650,649*l.* and Ire-

land 3,076,651*l*. The proportion of these sums was about 9 to 1. As, however, upon the experience of the past century, it had been found that there were three years of peace to two of war; if they formed their calculations upon that proportion, the past expenses of Great Britain and Ireland might be considered in the ratio of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

Such was the result as to past expenditure. He should next state what they might expect from the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 in their future expenses.

The expense of Great Britain, for the year 1799, was 32,700,000*l* and that of Ireland 5,439,000*l*. If that expense had been borne in the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, Great Britain would have expended 33,652,059*l* and Ireland 4,486,941*l*: the latter would have, consequently, saved 952,059*l* or 1,025,294*l*. in Irish currency. So long as the war should last, and they should continue separate from Britain, they could not suppose that their expense would be reduced; and therefore they would in future expend more by one million a year, than if they were united with Great Britain.

He then adverted to the probable future expenses of Ireland in time of peace; which, if they considered the advanced pay of the army, the increased charge of the militia, the necessity of keeping up some part of that invaluable force, the yeomanry, they would find it impossible to maintain a peace establishment of only 12,000 men at home at a less charge than 1,500,000*l* a year; and, if they should increase their establishment to 20,000 men, the whole charge would amount to 1,900,000*l* a year. Now, from the best documents which he had been able to procure, it was probable that the peace establishment of Great Britain would amount to about 7,500,000*l*; and, if they should add that of Ireland, the whole charge would be nine millions. If that charge were borne in the ratio of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, there would be a saving to Ireland of 450,000*l*. British, or nearly 500,000*l*. Irish currency.

He now turned to the situation of the public revenues. The produce of all the taxes in the last year amounted merely to 1,850,000*l*; and the present charges of the debt alone are 1,400,000*l*. Irish currency. He would, however, admit, that the revenues of this kingdom had, during that present year, experienced an extraordinary increase; and, though it were not to be supposed that the whole of that increase could be permanent, when they might account for it by the particular circumstances of the times, he would suppose that the revenues might produce a permanent sum of 2,300,000*l*. The charge of their debt was 1,400,000*l*; and the peace establishment, at the lowest computation, would be 1,500,000*l*. The total expense therefore would be 2,900,000*l*; and, if they remained a separate state, there

would be an annual deficiency of 600,000*l.* which they must endeavour to supply by new burthens upon the people, besides raising additional taxes of 250,000*l.* a year, so long as the war should continue. If, on the contrary, they wisely united with Great Britain, and agreed in a system of contribution proportioned to their respective means, the future charge of their war expense would be diminished a million a year, and they should be able to support their peace expenditure with a very slight addition to the present taxes. He confidently then appealed to those gentlemen around him, who had a real stake in the interests and happiness of that country, and he trusted they would seriously pause and deliberate before they suffered advantages like those which he had stated, to be rejected without discussion, or to be decided by wild and senseless clamour.

The affairs of commerce formed the next branch of inquiry; and on that head his lordship observed, that the principles, which were to form the basis of the agreement, did not materially differ from the plan brought forward in the year 1785. It was highly desirable, he said, that the commerce and intercourse between Britain and Ireland should be as free as between two counties of the same kingdom; but there were two circumstances, which prevented such an adjustment; these were, the necessity of securing particular manufactures by protecting duties, and the difference of internal taxes, consequent on the disparity of burthen sustained by Great Britain.

As to the first section of the commercial article, by which the subjects and the produce of each country would be placed upon an equal footing for ever, with regard to privileges, encouragements, and bounties, that gave the continuance for ever of the British and Irish bounties on the exportation of Irish linen, and afforded a full participation in the great article of sail cloth. As to the next section, relative to the exportation of all commodities from one country to the other without duty, that secured to Ireland for ever the raw materials, which she received from Britain, and which she could procure from no other country—coals, tin, bark, alum, hops, and salt: it also conceded to Ireland the staple commodity of English wool. The same section put an end to all bounties whatever on the articles of trade between the kingdoms, with an exception of malt, flour, and grain, which, it was proposed, might still be regulated on the present system.

The third section, respecting the articles which should be subject to duty in either country, gave rise to the following observations. To give adequate protection to the fabrics of that kingdom, a duty of 10 *per cent.* on the true value would be fully sufficient, in addition to the charges of freight, &c. which were estimated at 5½ *per cent.* Any manufacture in Ireland that could not

be carried on with a protecting guard of $15\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* against the manufacturer of England, where taxes were higher and labour dearer, could not deserve much encouragement. Nor was it fair in such a case to sacrifice the interests of the consumer, or encourage by high duties the habits of indolence. In fixing that rate of protection, he wished it to continue for such a period of years as would give security to the speculations of the manufacturers; at the same time he looked forward to a period when duties of that kind might gradually be diminished and ultimately cease. It was evident, that, if their manufacturers kept pace for the next twenty years with the progress they had made in the last twenty years, they might at the expiration of the term be fully able to cope with the British, and the two kingdoms might be safely left, like any two counties of the same kingdom, to a free competition. It was therefore provided, that after twenty years the united parliament might diminish the duties of protection, in such a ratio as the situation of their manufactures at that period might render expedient. As all articles, except those enumerated in the resolutions, are to be free from duty upon import, he called the attention of the house to the perpetual security offered to the linen manufacture of Ireland. It had been frequently asserted, that that manufacture derived all its prosperity from the encouragement which it had received from their local parliament; but he had ever contested the truth of that statement. The prosperity of the linen manufacture resulted not from domestic encouragement, but depended on its possession of the British market, and the British bounties on re-exportation. What then gave them that market but the liberality of Great Britain, which imposed a duty of 33 *per cent.* upon foreign linens, and admitted Irish linens without duty. The whole quantity of linen imported into Great Britain amounted to 50,000,000 of yards, of which 33 millions went from Ireland. Now, if a duty of 33 *per cent.* should be laid upon Irish linen as well as foreign, it would produce a sum of more than a million a-year to the revenue of Britain; and the trade would thus be thrown altogether into the hands of the foreign manufacturer.

It had been urged, that the encouragements granted to Irish linen were in consequence of a compact that the Irish parliament should give up the woollen manufacture. It must have been a singular compact indeed, by which Great Britain was irrevocably to bind herself to impose on her own subjects the burthen of a million sterling *per annum*, in order to secure an export of woollen goods, which had never exceeded 680,000*l.* a year. But, if he should allow that a compact existed, Ireland, by that proposal, would have both parts of it; she would keep what she had by linens, and recover what she was supposed to have given up in woollens as the price of these encouragements. She would

not only enjoy for ever the British markets for her linen trade, but would receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extension of her woollen trade; and she would have British bounties to favour the re-exportation of the former, and low British duties to encourage the importation of the latter.

Some had affirmed, that Great Britain laid the high duty on the foreign linens to protect her own manufacture, and not to favour the Irish. If that were admitted, what then prevented her from laying the same duty on Irish linens? Could any other reason be assigned than disposition to protect the manufactures of Ireland? If Great Britain should only impose a protecting duty of 10 *per cent.* on the import of Irish linens in favour of her own, she would only act towards them as they had towards her in almost all the leading articles of British manufacture; and what would be the effect? It would exclude them in a great measure from her market. The foreign manufacturer, who now supplied nearly one-third of her demand, even under the disadvantage of a duty of 33 *per cent.* would then supply nearly the whole. The English consumer would buy his linens nearly at as cheap a rate, whilst the state would levy an annual revenue on the import, which was now sacrificed to the encouragement of the manufacture of Ireland. Was it then to the local parliament, or to the parliament of Great Britain, that Ireland stood indebted for these advantages? It was to the parliament of Great Britain alone, to the parliament of that country which had been described as the natural and instinctive enemy of Ireland, that they owed the obligation. That hostile country annually sacrificed a sum to the protection of the linen trade of Ireland, equal in amount to the total expense of our peace establishment as it stood before the war; and, by treaty, she had bounden herself to continue it for ever.

As to the countervailing duties (mentioned in the fourth section) necessary to balance internal imposts, the necessity was evident, while the two countries should be subject to unequal taxes; and, when the inequality of taxes should cease, and a common revenue take place, they would be discontinued.

The two next sections might be of great commercial consequence, as they provided, that the charges upon the re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods, should be the same in both countries, and that no drawbacks should be retained upon any article exported from either country to the other. All who considered and understood the nature of our commerce and the advantages of our situation must allow the great benefit of securing the perpetuity of these regulations to Ireland. It had been acknowledged, that the situation of Ireland was much more convenient for the re-export trade than Great Britain, not being subject to the dangerous and tedious navigation of the channels; but,

when it was considered that the transit or re-export trade of Britain amounted to 14,000,000*l.* a year, gentlemen would admit, that the prospect of national advantage from that part of the system highly deserved their attention, and that there was no benefit, which the cities of Cork and Dublin might not expect, when, in order to carry that article into effect, the system of bonding foreign goods for exportation should be extended, and arrangements made for converting those harbours as far as possible into free ports.

Upon a review of the result of that article, they would find their linen trade secured, the prospect of a great woollen trade opened, a great manufactory of sail cloth encouraged, the British market opened by low duties (in case of their skilful use of domestic advantages), and at the same time secured for their great provision trade, whilst an additional encouragement was given to their farmers, in taking off the duty from the produce of their lands.

In considering the effect of the proposed commercial regulations upon the revenue, they would again find the advantage of the system. The duties on the exportation of hides, tallow, cattle, and provisions, which produced 44,000*l.* would cease; and the loss of revenue by taking off duties, and by lowering duties from 12½ to 10 *per cent.* would amount to 32,000*l.* Thus the total loss would be 76,000*l.*: but, to balance that loss, they would gain the duty of 1*l.* 3*d.* a ton upon coals, which then was raised upon Irish consumption, and amounted *per annum* to 17,000*l.*; they would gain the duties retained in England on subsidy goods, 9,000*l.*; they would receive their proportion of 500,000*l.* from the India company, 58,000*l.* the whole amounting to 84,000*l.* Thus taxes would be remitted, at present raised either on Irish produce or Irish consumption, whilst the loss of revenue would be fully compensated by a transfer of duties then payable into the British exchequer.

The eighth section provided that a sum equal to what then was applied to charitable purposes, and to the encouragement of manufactures, should continue to be so appropriated annually by the united parliament; thus securing a continuance of the linen board, and other local institutions, which had hitherto received parliamentary bounty.

He then reverted to the fifth article, and briefly discussed the ecclesiastical part of the plan of Union. The leading features of the whole system, he said, were, one state, one legislature, one church; and, if there should not be an identity with Britain in these great points of connexion, Ireland could not expect to enjoy real and permanent security. The church in particular, as long as the separation should continue, would ever be liable to be impeached upon local grounds, and would be unable to maintain

itself effectually against the argument of physical force, by which it was continually assailed: but, when once it should be completely incorporated with the church of England, it would be placed upon such a strong and national foundation, as to be above all apprehensions or alarms from adverse interest.

The Protestant, so long as the establishment remained separate, and was impeached on local grounds, would feel his power, his property, and his government insecure, and must naturally look with distrust and jealousy on the Catholic: The Catholic would feel proportionate alienation and resentment, and would continually urge his claims against the establishment of the minority; and thus there appeared no ray of hope of a termination to distrust, jealousy, and alarm. But, when the ecclesiastical establishments of the two kingdoms should have been incorporated into one church, the Protestant would feel himself at once identified with the population and property of the empire, and the establishment would be placed upon its natural basis. The cause of distrust must vanish with the removal of weakness; strength and confidence would produce liberality; and the claims of the Catholics might be temperately discussed, and impartially decided before an imperial parliament, divested of those local circumstances which would ever produce irritation and jealousy.

He took notice of the imputation, that the Catholic clergy have been bribed to support this measure. That was an illiberal imputation, thrown out for the dangerous purpose of weakening their authority over, by lowering them in the opinion of their flocks; for it was known, that an arrangement for the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, had been long in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers. As to the insinuation, that the measure of Union was a measure of bribery; if bribery and public advantage were synonymous, he readily admitted it to be a measure of the most comprehensive bribery that was ever produced. It bribed all the inhabitants of Ireland, by offering to embrace them within the pale of the British constitution, and to communicate to them all the advantage of British commerce. But perhaps there was one class in the community, to which an Union would not act as a bribe; he alluded to those who called themselves lovers of liberty and independence; of that liberty, which consisted in the abdication of the British constitution; that independence, which consisted in the abandonment of British connexion. He acknowledged, that those were bribes he was not prepared to offer: there were many, with whom he was not prepared to make any treaty, but the treaty of the law.

The only remaining question of importance was, that which related to the constitution of the parliament. The representation of Ireland by equal numbers having been urged as a measure re-

quisite for a fair Union, his lordship reprobated the idea as founded on the common and refuted error, that the two kingdoms, after an Union, would retain distinct and adverse interests. If this should be admitted, the proposed remedy would even augment the disorder. Rival interests, far from being remedied by equality of numbers, would, from the circumstance of such equality, break forth into jealous and hostile competition. It would therefore be advisable to proceed upon an opposite principle, and, on the ground of a community of interest between incorporated kingdoms, adjust the number of representatives by the *criteria* of wealth and population.

The population of Ireland was in general estimated from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000.* The population of Great Britain is supposed to exceed 10,000,000. The contribution proposed for Ireland to furnish to the expenses of the empire, is as one to 7½. These two proportions taken together, will produce a mean proportion of about 5½ to 1. If, therefore, Ireland should send one hundred members to represent her in the Imperial House of Commons, she would be fairly and adequately represented.

With reference to the peerage, he would propose that the representative body for Ireland should consist of four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords: and when it was considered, that above forty noblemen who had great interests and stakes in Ireland were already peers of Great Britain, he flattered himself, that their interests in that branch of the legislature would be sufficiently maintained by a body so numerous and respectable.

With regard to the appointment of the peers, who were to sit in the imperial parliament, he should propose that the four spiritual peers should sit by rotation of sessions, and that, for the prevention of the inconveniences, which resulted from septennial elections, the twenty-eight temporal peers should be returned for life. Such an arrangement appeared at once best calculated to secure their independence, and to preserve, as far as possible, the hereditary principle of the peerage. It was also intended to interfere in as small a degree as possible with any existing privileges of the peerage of Ireland; and he should suggest, with that view, that the peers of Ireland might still be allowed to sit in the House of Commons of the united parliament, for any county or borough of Great Britain; but that, during the period of their thus sitting as commoners, they should be tried as commoners, and be precluded from representing the Irish peerage, or voting at the election of any peer; and, as the Irish peerage materially differed from the Scotch, the titles of the latter being entailed generally, and the former limited to the heirs male, it was intended

* There are many strong reasons for believing it to amount to near 5,000,000.

to reserve a power to the crown of creating Irish peers, provided that the number of peers existing at the time of the Union were not augmented.

In forming the representation of the commons of Ireland, he should suggest the expediency of increasing the proportion, and strengthening the influence of the counties. That principle was wisely adopted in the Scottish Union, when the representatives for the counties amounted to thirty, and those of the boroughs to fifteen. In following that precedent, he intended to propose, that the sixty-four members for counties should be elected as at present, and that thirty-six should represent the chief cities and towns of the kingdom. Here the proportion was nearly the same.

In order to produce a return of thirty-six members only, to represent the boroughs and cities of Ireland, which consisted of one hundred and eighteen places, recourse must be had to some principle, either of selection or combination. The latter principle was followed in the Union with Scotland, where the boroughs were divided into fifteen classes, each class consisting of four or five boroughs, each borough electing a delegate, and the majority of delegates choosing a Burgess. It had, however, been found by experience, that this mode of election was subject to much inconvenience and cabal; and he would therefore advise, that only the most considerable towns in the kingdom should be permitted to send representatives, and that the privileges of the other boroughs should cease. He would propose, that Cork and Dublin should each send two representatives as at present; that one should be returned by the University; and that thirty-one of the most considerable cities and towns of Ireland, whose relative importance was to be measured by the joint consideration of their wealth and population, should each send a member to the imperial parliament.

In selecting the towns which should retain the privilege of sending members to parliament, the criterion he suggested, would be from the combined result of the hearth-money and window tax.

As the disfranchisement of many boroughs would diminish the influence and privileges of those gentlemen whose property was connected with such places of election, he endeavoured to obviate their complaints by promising, that, if the plan submitted to the house should be finally approved, he would offer some measure of compensation to those individuals *whose peculiar interests should suffer in the arrangement.

* This purchase of each borough for 15,000*l.* each, was supposed to have brought over many proselytes to the Unionists, who would otherwise have opposed the measure.

Much and deep objection might be stated to such a measure; but it surely was consonant with the privileges of private justice; it was calculated to meet the feelings of the moderate; and it was better to resort to such a measure, however objectionable, than adhere to the present system, and keep afloat, for ever, the dangerous question of parliamentary reform. If this were a measure of purchase, it should be recollected, that it would be the purchase of peace, and the expense of it would be redeemed by one year's saving of the Union.

Some might object, that a representation formed on the principle suggested, would be too popular in its nature and effects; and, indeed, if Ireland were to remain separate from Great Britain, he should feel the full weight of that objection; but, as their representation was to be mixed with that of Britain, any danger arising from its popular constitution would be sufficiently counteracted by the consistency and stability of that body.

The last article would provide for the continuance of the existing laws, for the preservation of the courts of justice in their present state, for the removal of appeals to the House of Lords of the imperial parliament, and for subjecting the prize court of admiralty to the lord high admiral of the empire. He then spoke of the general plan in the following terms:

“ Having now gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible, I trust I have proved to every man who hears me, that the proposal is such a one, as is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, and for Ireland to accept. It is one, which will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It is one, which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of an Union, to be burthened with the debt of Britain. It is one, which, by establishing a fair principle of contribution, tends to release Ireland from an expense of one million in time of war, and of 500,000*l.* in time of peace. It is one, which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one, that, by uniting the ecclesiastical establishments, and consolidating the legislatures of the empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one, that places the great question, which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one, that establishes such a representation for the country, as must lay asleep for ever the question of parliamentary reform, which combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities.”

Then lord Castlereagh, in a warm panegyric on the British minister, concluded, that, as on a recurrence of danger, Great Britain might not have such a character to rise up again for her salvation, it was highly expedient to seize the present moment, and strengthen the Irish constitution by blending and uniting it for ever with the great and powerful empire of Britain. If that important object should be accomplished, and if at any future time the enemies of Britain and of mankind should be let loose upon the social world, Ireland, he doubted not, would be in such a situation of unanimity and power, as to bear a conspicuous part with Great Britain in the glorious task of restoring the liberties of Europe.

Mr. G. Ponsonby made a powerful attack on the Irish minister. He vindicated the Anti-unionists, who were accused of irregular practices, by observing, that, though at any other time and under different circumstances such behaviour might be extraordinary, yet, when it was considered, that a formidable rebellion was scarcely suppressed, and that martial law was in force, the interference of men of rank, property, and respectability, seemed to be necessary, in order to shew to the people the safety and the propriety of expressing, in a constitutional manner, their sense of a measure, which would deprive them of constitution, of liberty. of every thing dear and valuable to themselves and to their country.

He treated as visionary all the proffered advantages of Union. In the ecclesiastical establishment, Union would produce but one solid effect, which would be to translate the Irish into English bishops.

He then summed up the effects of the Union in these terms :
 “ Your peerage is to be disgraced ; your commons purchased ;
 “ no additional advantage in commerce ; for twenty years a little
 “ saving in contribution ; but, if the cabinet of England think,
 “ that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that
 “ extravagance now ? If any things should be conceded in the way
 “ of trade, why is it not conceded now ? Are any of those bene-
 “ fits incompatible with our present state ? No ; but the minister
 “ wants to carry his Union ; and no favour, however trifling, can
 “ be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the
 “ existence of parliament and the liberties of the country.”

A short speech of censure from sir John Parnell was succeeded by a long one from Mr. Dobbs, but there was nothing new in their arguments. The latter of these two gentlemen was very enthusiastic in his declamation. He at length consoled himself with this reflection, that the fate of nations was not in the hands of man. It was not the will of a British minister that could rob Ireland of her newly-acquired rights : he proclaimed it to the two

nations, that the independence of Ireland was written in the immutable records of Heaven.

Colonel Verreker, Mr. Lee and Mr. Ogle, again reprobated the measure; sir John Blaquiere, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Ormsby strenuously supported it.

Mr. John Claudius Beresford denied, that the greater part of the property in the kingdom favoured the Union. Such a conclusion could not be drawn from the addresses which had been presented, while so many petitions proved the contrary. On the subject of the letters missive, he saw nothing very strange in such endeavours to procure the real sense of the country, when so many extraordinary means had been used to procure an apparent one. He admitted, that the establishment would be endangered by the emancipation of the Catholics while Ireland should continue to have a separate parliament; but, in the event of an Union, he pledged himself to promote the grant of the concessions which they desired.

Mr. Burrows declared, that his opposition to the progress of the measure did not arise from the peculiar demerit of the plan now developed, but from his unwillingness to surrender the constitution of the realm upon any terms whatever, or to transfer the supreme power of the state to a country divided from Ireland by boundaries which could not be removed, and by feelings which could not be extinguished. If an Union should pass, as an Irishman he should be indifferent how many or how few deputies should be sent from their emasculated country. The parliament could not be said to exercise an unbiassed judgment, though he would not particularise the means by which it had been influenced. With regard to the opinion of the public, it was clear, that the general voice was strongly against the measure. The detestation of it was strikingly apparent in every quarter of the kingdom, and among all classes of people. This display of the national sentiment was an awful warning.

Mr. Edgeworth, disclaiming all party connexion, discussed some points connected with the measure. He did not object to it as an innovation. The settlement of 1782 was an innovation; and he concurred in the opinion, that it was intended to be final, though by no means perfect. While he wished for an Union, he did not altogether approve the plan now recommended. It would leave grounds of jealousy and altercation, and would not involve the complete identity of interest requisite for the stability of such a measure. He also thought it improper to urge the scheme, unless it should appear to be desired by the sober and impartial majority of the nation; and, while seventy boroughs were allowed to be saleable commodities, for which the public money was to be given, he not only deemed it impossible to collect the genuine

sense of the nation in that house, but could not conscientiously support a scheme attended with this avowed corruption.

Mr. Mac Cleland ridiculed the idea of the present independence of Ireland; affirmed, that national and commercial jealousies were necessarily incident to the existing connexion between the countries; and recommended an Union, as tending to combine real independence with wealth and prosperity.

Mr. Tighe accused lord Castlereagh of having argued upon two assumptions, which he could not prove. One was, that the opinion of the nation was in favour of the measure; the other, that Ireland could be adequately and fairly represented in an united parliament. He also charged the Unionists with having had recourse to the dishonourable arts of corruption and intimidation, in the prosecution of their unconstitutional scheme.

Mr. Smith denied, that the Union would annihilate the liberties or the constitution of Ireland; and asserted, that the greater part of the property and intelligence of the country justly considered the measure in an opposite point of view.

Mr. J. M. O'Donell reprobated the scheme with great warmth, and inveighed particularly against the apostates and traitors, who aimed at the ruin of their country. He contradicted the attorney-general's assertion, that Molyneux had recommended a legislative Union.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley spoke in favour of Union.

Mr. Grattan said, that the right honourable gentleman proposed a counter-revolution, as if he were to bring in a bill to depose the House of Hanover, and re-establish that of Stuart: he proposed to restore the domination of the British parliament, which abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish parliament that had saved her; grounding the proposition on the opportunity, the weakness, the divisions, and the martial law of the country; but concealing those grounds, because a disclosure of them would display the real character and perfidy of the measure, and professing to introduce it on another ground, namely, the wishes of the country, as mis-stated and misrepresented by the servants of the crown. In this proposition, the minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century; to apologise for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, for a system which had counteracted the kindness of Providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thralldom and misery; to prove that the British parliament had undergone a great change of disposition; to disprove two consequences, which were portended by the odium of the Union and the increased expenses of the empire, namely, a military government for a considerable time, and, at no very distant period, an augmentation of taxes; to deny or dispute the

growth of the prosperity of Ireland, under the maternal wing of her own parliament; to controvert the sufficiency of that legislature for imperial purposes or commercial objects, though facts were against him; and to explode or recal his repeated declarations in its favour. In short, he had to prove many points, which he could by no means demonstrate; and to disprove many, which might be forcibly maintained against him. It was, moreover, singular to behold the man, who denied the right of France to alter her government, maintaining the omnipotence of the parliament of Ireland to annul her constitution.

He then urged the very serious importance of the question. It was not such as had formerly occupied their attention: not old Poynings, not peculation, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a reform bill—it was their being—it was more, it was their life to come—whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph, or whether their children should go to their graves, saying, “A venal, a military court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the “honourable men, who saved their country.” Such an epitaph was a nobility which the king could not give to his slaves; it was a glory which the crown could not give to the king.

Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer, offered some observations in reply, that contained no novelty.

Dr. Duigenan entered into a most diffuse dissertation upon the subject, disclaimed all connexion with the ministers of either country, and asserted the sincerity of his own convictions in favour of an Union.

Mr. Saurin asserted the existence of a compact between the government and the people. It was to be found, he said, in the heart of every honest senator; and he trusted, that every member would reflect on the duties involved in such a compact before he would give his vote on the present question. The functions and authority of parliament ought not to be transferred to another country, without the sanction of a full and ascertained majority of the people. The trustees of power had no right of themselves to destroy that which they were delegated to preserve.

Colonel Fitzgerald, Mr. Johnson, and the solicitor general spoke in favour of Union.

When the question was called for, the house divided, at a very late hour, 158 for lord Castlereagh's motion, and 115 against it.

In returning from the house, some of the members were insulted by the populace for supporting the Union; but no serious mischief ensued. Applications were made to the viceroy for protection; and from that time forward, under pretence of securing the persons of the members from insult and outrage, a regular guard of cavalry was mounted in Foster's Place, near to the Parliament House, round which they regularly paraded during all future debates. This mea-

sure of precaution or pretext was loudly reprobated by the Anti-Unionists, as a military control, and therefore as an unconstitutional check upon the freedom of debate.

When the number of the placemen, pensioners, and other influenced members, who had voted on the late-division is considered, the minister had but slender grounds for triumphing in his majority of 48, if from them were to be collected the genuine sense of the independent part of that house and of the people of Ireland, whom they represented. Flushed however with the unexpected success, the minister eagerly sent it in to the lords, where the earl of Clare had pledged himself to carry it through.* Here on the 10th of February, 1800, the order of the day having been read for taking his majesty's message into consideration relative to the proposed legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the articles for that purpose, the lord chancellor arose to call their lordships' attention to a subject certainly the most momentous, which had ever been submitted for decision to the parliament of that country: a subject embracing the vital interests of Ireland, and intimately affecting the strength and prosperity of the British empire. But when he recollected the criminal and unexampled efforts which had been made, from the moment that measure was first proposed for discussion, to bear it down by noise, and faction, and intrigue, if not by recommendations of open rebellion, he should condemn himself for a gross dereliction of his duty, were he to forbear to submit it to their most serious consideration, in all its various and important views and bearings, under the strong conviction, that nothing but Union would save that kingdom from annihilation, and eventually uphold the stability of the British empire. From a critical and attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, he was satisfied in his judgment and conscience, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent complicated and bitter calamities; and that it had at length become desperate and impracticable. He had, more than once, in the House of Commons, stated without reserve, that the rapid growth of faction, and the precipitate folly and passion of men, who from time to time were suffered to take a command-

* So imperiously in the eyes of the British cabinet did the relative situations of the two kingdoms now call for a legislative Union, so unlikely did it appear, that another favourable opportunity of carrying the measure should soon recur, that recourse was certainly had to the powers of patronage and influence; and many, it is to be feared, in both houses sacrificed their convictions. Twenty-seven new titles were added to the peerage; promotions, grants, concessions, arrangements, promises were lavished with a profusion never before known in that country. Pity for both sides, that so great and important a political measure should owe any part of its success, to other than the means of temperate reason and persuasion.

ing lead in the councils of that assembly, would inevitably reduce them to the alternative of separation or Union. He had with as little reserve stated the same opinion since he had had the honour of a seat in that house ; he avowed, that in every communication he had had with the king's ministers on Irish affairs for the last seven years, he had uniformly and distinctly pressed upon them the urgent necessity of Union, as the last resource to preserve that country to the British crown. He had pressed it without effect, until British ministers and the British nation were roused to a sense of their common danger, by the late sanguinary and unprovoked rebellion. His lordship after this entered into an historical sketch of Ireland from the invasion down to the late turbulent period.* Thence he proceeded, certainly not in a style of affection, or reconciliation, or tenderness, or credit to his country, to represent it in a manner, which most of his countrymen have considered opprobrious, calumniating, and untrue.

In referring to the period of lord Fitzwilliam's administration, he assumed, that the Papists would have remained content with the favours they had received ; or, if they looked to ulterior indulgence, they were willing to try the effects of time, temper, and negotiation : but on a change of the Irish government in 1795, the name and authority of earl Fitzwilliam were abused to force their sect to come forward as the engine of faction, and demand the repeal of every law, by which they were excluded from political power. Catholic emancipation was the cry ; but it was a mere cover for bad designs. It was originally a pretence for rebellion, and then a powerful engine of faction, wielded in both countries against the peace and happiness of Ireland ; an engine which had already shaken their government to its foundation, and could not fail to level it with the dust, if they were to continue in a state of separation from the British nation. If, after they repealed the test laws, and acts of supremacy and uniformity, they should yield every other point, then some apostle of sedition, in the fulness of human arrogance and presumption, might propose a repeal of God's holy commandment, and proclaim the worship of graven images in their streets and highways. What, said his lordship, was the lesson of peace and good-will inculcated by the successors of him who first invented this revolutionary weapon ? " Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your

* Having so frequently referred to many parts of this noble lord's speech in the course of this history, as they bore upon the particular periods and events under consideration, it will be unnecessary to tire the reader with a repetition of them. Mr. Grattan, as has been observed, wrote an answer to this speech, and charges the chancellor with gross misrepresentation and falsehood. " His idea," said Mr. Grattan, " was to make the Irish history a calumny against their ancestors, in order to disfranchise their posterity."

“ fortunes until after the war : seize the opportunity of war for
“ fraternal embraces, and great emancipation : your physical
“ consequence exists only in a state of separation from England ;
“ in a state of separation you are four to one, in a state of union
“ merely one to four : and therefore, though your claims should
“ be attended to after union, you gain nothing ; you may as well
“ be units in the street as units in parliament.” The whole of
the interior mechanism of emancipation was here fairly exposed
to view ; and he wished every honest member of the community,
whether Protestant or Catholic, to decide for himself whether Ireland
could ever be at peace until that firebrand was extinguished, and whe-
ther a hope existed that it could be extinguished, in their present
state of separation from England. If the Catholics of Ireland were
not satisfied with the indulgence which they had already experienc-
ed, and were determined to press their demands of an unqualified
repeal of the test laws and act of supremacy, let them be discuss-
ed upon their solid merits in the imperial parliament, where the
question would not be influenced by passion or prejudice ; where
no part of the consideration would be, that the Catholics of Ire-
land might retain their physical consequence for the establishment
of a system of periodical rebellion, under the management or di-
rection of Whigs or Tories, or United Irishmen, and where it
would be gravely and dispassionately considered, whether a re-
peal of these laws might be yielded with safety to the British mo-
narchy, or whether, by adopting the French model, in abolishing
all religious distinctions as connected with the state, they should
lay the corner-stone of revolution and democracy. His unalter-
ed opinion was, that, so long as human nature and the Popish re-
ligion continued to be what he knew they were, a conscientious
Popish ecclesiastic never would become a well-attached subject to
a Protestant state, and that the Popish clergy must always have a
commanding influence on every member of that communion. He
put this as an abstract state maxim, without regard to the peculiar
situation of that country. In private life he never inquired into
the religion of any man ; if he were honest and a good Christian,
it mattered not to him that he might subscribe to articles of faith
and discipline, which his reason and understanding rejected ; but
when he was to frame laws for the safety of the state, he did not
feel himself at liberty to act upon the virtues of individuals. Laws
must be framed to meet and counteract the vicious propensities
of human nature. His lordship then animadverted severely upon
the second project for Irish liberty, parliamentary reform ; and
recapitulated Mr. W. B. Ponsonby's seven resolutions moved in
the House of Commons in 1797. He passed by the horrors of
the late rebellion, as they had been amply detailed in the reports
of the secret committees. He maintained, that the treasonable con-
spiracies, which had brought that country to the verge of ruin, were

the natural offspring of the adjustment of 1782, and that the convulsion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig institution, the reliques of which might be observed in the mask of liberty, inculcating the principles, and adopting the means originally devised by the rebel confederacy of the Irish Union, to abolish the religion and subvert the monarchy of Ireland. He made some other remarks on the conduct of the pretended patrons of liberty, and on the great danger, to which their intrigues exposed their countrymen, and painted a most hideous portrait of his wretched and devoted country. Her financial embarrassments were irretrievable. Her national debt in 1791 did not exceed 2,442,890*l.* and at the time of his speaking, it was 25,660,640*l.* Those financial difficulties did not arise from a French, a Dutch, or a Spanish war, but from a war of faction, a Whig war, and a war of United Irishmen. Even if Great Britain should no longer be at war, the rulers of Ireland would be compelled to maintain a war establishment for defence against their own people.

It had been demanded triumphantly, how were they to be relieved by Union? First, they would be relieved from British and Irish faction, which was the prime source of all their calamities. Next, if they became one people with England, the army of the empire would be employed where it was most wanted for general service; and so long as it should be found necessary to garrison every district in Ireland, for the internal safety of the country, the necessary force might be stationed there, without additional expense in either country.

It had been said, that, by giving up a separate government and separate parliament, they sacrificed national dignity and independence; but when he looked at the squalid misery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity, of the mass of the Irish people, he was sickened with the rant of Irish dignity and independence. Were the dignity and independence of Ireland to consist in the continued depression and unredeemed barbarism of the great majority of the people, and the factious contentions of a puny and rapacious oligarchy, who considered the Irish nation as their political inheritance, and were ready to sacrifice the public peace and happiness to their insatiate love of patronage and power? He felt as a true Irishman for the dignity and independence of his country; and would elevate her to her proper station in the rank of civilized nations.* He wished to

* These ebullitions of patriotism in the earl of Clare have always been considered by the greater part of his countrymen as a varnish to gloss over his own private views of self interest and ambition to which he was considered by them ever to have sacrificed the welfare and happiness of his country. In addition to the acrimonious obloquy upon his country in this speech, I refer the

advance her from the degraded post of a mercenary province to the proud station of an integral and governing member of the greatest empire in the world. He wished to withdraw the higher orders of his countrymen from the narrow and corrupted sphere

reader to what he said of it in the British house of peers by way of encouraging British capitalists and manufacturers to resort thither.

Upon the third reading of the martial law bill in the Imperial House of Peers on the 23d of March, 1801, (a period not within the range of this history) that noble lord gave the following repulsive and abhorrent portrait of his country: little, it will impartially be allowed, calculated to conciliate the affections and promote the advancement of the spirit of Union in either of the contracting parties to the terms of their recent contract. "Most of the noble lords then present had lived in security and happiness under the British constitution. Conscious of the many blessings that constitution was calculated to confer, they must revolt at the idea of suspending it in any part of the empire. Such however was the unfortunate, the melancholy, the degraded state of Ireland, that she must either fly for refuge to a military government, or submit to an unprincipled, a savage, and a ferocious democracy. He maintained that there was no other alternative. The civil government was unable to support itself, and, if unaided by military force, would quickly crumble into atoms. The rebellion that had existed in that country was of a nature unparalleled in the history of the world. It did not proceed from mistaken loyalty, religious zeal, or party difference. All principle had been corrupted; every laudable feeling had been extirpated from the mind; and nothing prevailed but domestic treason, bloody murder and cowardly assassination. Though it had been vanquished in the field, it was not subdued—it had existed long before it broke out, and it existed still. Democracy had taken deep root in that country, and it would probably be long before a spirit of subordination could be restored. He had often asserted, he did then assert, and should always continue to assert, that from the time that the appeal of a rebel convention from the Irish parliament had been received in this country and sanctioned by authority, democracy had been planted in Ireland, and it had continually grown up and flourished since. Now it was greatly too powerful for the civil government; and unless its growth was thus checked it would completely gain the ascendant. Martial law was indispensable, and could alone give any security to the property, the religion, and the lives of the loyal inhabitants. Here the noble lord took occasion to compliment marquis Cornwallis; he had done all that could be done by man, yet Ireland was not in a situation to enjoy the constitution for martial law to be exercised effectually, it was necessary that the king's courts should be completely shut up. His lordship drew a picture of the state of Ireland, the most shocking imaginable. Many of his remarks he said he made with pain, and therefore they were not reported. Where the contagion was strongest, he observed, it was impossible to know. The county of Limerick in which he resided, was almost the only one that remained quiet during the rebellion; yet a dangerous insurrection afterwards suddenly broke out in it, and it was begun by an atrocious murder being committed under his own roof. One of his own servants was put to death with circumstances the most shocking to humanity, merely because he was an Englishman; and to shew the extreme barbarism, at which the Irish people had arrived, the principal assassin was a man who had been his servant, and his father's servant for upwards of thirty years, and had been uniformly treated by both of them with the greatest possible kindness. He mentioned this to shew that they were not animated by any thing resembling a rational motive, but were spurred on merely by a thirst for blood. If the noble earl (earl Fitzwilliam, to whom he addressed himself all along) could find time to visit his estates in the county of Wicklow, he would

of Irish politics, and to direct their attention to objects of national importance, to teach them to improve the natural energies and extend the resources of their country, to encourage the skill and ingenuity of manufacturers, open useful channels for commercial enterprize, and, above all, seriously to exert their best endeavours to tame and civilize the lower orders of the people, to inculcate in their minds habits of religion and morality, and industry, and due subordination, to relieve their wants, and correct their excesses. Unless they would civilize their people, it was in vain to look for national tranquillity or contentment.

To the objection, that the measure of an union was unseasonable, he replied, they were not to await the period of actual bankruptcy, or the issue of a new rebellion, that Great Britain might be enabled to dictate the terms on which Ireland should listen to the proposition. That was a period of all others the most auspicious for Ireland to set on foot such a treaty. The late rebellion

“ see, that these representations were not exaggerated. He would there be-
 “ hold nothing but traces of desolation and signs of the renewal of these hor-
 “ rors. With the deepest grief he saw such things, and spoke of them. Hap-
 “ py would he be, if he could go to his bed-chamber without going as to an
 “ armoury, and could close his eyes without apprehensions of having his throat
 “ cut before morning, or seeing his wife and children butchered before him.
 “ He should be inexpressibly happy when he could once more walk out unarm-
 “ ed ; for it was a curious fact, that, when he was in Ireland, his servant brought
 “ him his arms as regularly as he brought him his hat To think of repress-
 “ ing this spirit by coaxing, concessions, and indulgence, was absurd ! Acts of
 “ that kind, though well meant, had already had a mischievous tendency. The
 “ rebels had a system of laws the most severe, and the most promptly execut-
 “ ed. This was far more efficient than the civil code, and could only be met
 “ and counteracted by martial law. If this bill were not renewed, scenes
 “ would be exhibited in Ireland, to which there had been nothing resembling
 “ since the year 1641. It was easy for those at a distance from the spot to talk
 “ of humanity, and to rail against measures of vigour. Let noble lords who
 “ opposed that bill take a journey to Ireland. He engaged to give any six of
 “ them a villa, and a small farm each, if they would consent to reside in it. Af-
 “ ter they had tasted for a twelvemonth the sweets of an Irish life, let them
 “ come over (if they survived) and declaim in favour of the rights of the Irish.
 “ The noble lord concluded by adverting to the report that he was an advo-
 “ cate of torture. The foundation for that report, he said, he recollected well,
 “ and should state to the house. A blacksmith had been apprehended, who,
 “ there was the greatest reason to believe, had been engaged in framing pike-
 “ heads. After various means being tried, in vain, to force him to confess
 “ where he had concealed them, he was placed upon the piquet. There he
 “ had not remained half a minute, when he told where about 500 might be
 “ found, and there they were found accordingly. In answer to what had fallen
 “ from a noble lord opposite (earl Moira), he had said it should be maturely
 “ considered, whether society would suffer most from the murder of two or
 “ three hundred loyal and well-disposed men, which was probably thus pre-
 “ vented, or from a rebel blacksmith being placed half a minute on the piquet.
 “ What he had said then, he now repeated ; and if there were any who, re-
 “ gardless of the two or three hundred loyal and well-disposed inhabitants,
 “ pitied only the rebel blacksmith, he did not envy them their feelings.”

had been so far put down, that she was enabled to treat on fair and equal terms.

The evil of emigration could never be greater than at that day. If they were to live in a perpetual storm there ; if it were to remain at the discretion of every adventurer, of feeble and ostentatious talents, ungoverned by a particle of judgment or discretion, to dress up fictitious grievances for popular delusion, and let loose a savage and barbarous people upon the property and respect of the Irish nation, what gentleman, who had the means of living out of that country, would be induced to remain an eye-witness of the scenes of folly and madness, and horrors of every description, in which he had lived for some years past ; and that he would rather give up every prospect which remained to him in that country, and begin a new course in his old age, than submit to the same misery and disgust for the remnant of his life.

When it was first known, that Great Britain was ready to receive her sister kingdom into the communion of her liberty, wealth, industry, and happiness, the offer was treated by some who called themselves friends of liberty and the Irish constitution, with a degree of intemperance, which resembled the fury of wild beasts alarmed at an attack upon their prey. The flame of discontent spread with rapidity ; and appeals of the most virulent and inflammatory tendency were made by these friends of liberty to the deluded barbarians, who had been so recently consigned by them to indiscriminate extirpation. When the measure was proposed, the *friends of liberty* would not suffer it to be discussed ; and when it was relinquished for a time, they endeavoured to force the premature discussion of it, in the hope of precluding a fair investigation of its merits. Persons of high rank had not scrupled to propagate sedition during the recess of parliament ; and to canvas popular clamour against the measure, by the most shameless impositions on the ignorance and credulity of every man, who would listen to them. His lordship then animadverted on the assumption of a consular authority by two peers and a commoner, who issued “ a letter missive ” through the realm, promoting strong petitions against the Union. He made a very severe address to the young earl of Charlemont, and called upon him publicly to disavow all knowledge of the existence of such a fund, or, if he could not disavow it, to state explicitly any honest purpose, to which it could be applied. He proposed to that grave assembly an entire and perfect union of the kingdom of Ireland with Great Britain, which, if he lived to see completed, to his latest hour he should feel an honourable pride in reflecting on the share he might have had in contributing to effect it.*

* Notwithstanding this declaration, it is reported, that this noble lord felt so sensibly, after the Union, the loss of his own power and consequence, of

The earl of Charlemont denied that he had opposed the Union by bribery, but allowed that he had endeavoured to procure petitions to counteract those addresses, which were promoted by all the influence of government. He thought it his duty to pursue all constitutional means for the defeat of a project, which appeared to him to be full of detriment and injury to Ireland, and of danger to the British empire.

The marquis of Downshire rose to repel the chancellor's accusation, and state his objections to the Union. He had heard of an anti-union subscription; but he did not believe the information. If such a fund existed, he could honestly assert, that he had never subscribed to it, and had not even been desired to contribute to it.

He differed from the noble lord in many points. He considered the rebellion to have been principally occasioned by the inconsistent conduct of the government. At one time he had been requested, as a friend to that government, to sign a strong declaration in support of the Protestant ascendancy; but, if he could have foreseen the consequences, he would sooner have suffered an amputation of the hand that signed it, than have put his name to it; not but that he was a true and zealous Protestant, and a sincere friend to the established church of Ireland. A few months afterwards, he had been called upon by the same government to vote for the emancipation of the Catholics, to which, though he were not of an intolerant disposition, he could not accede. This contradictory policy must have had a tendency to irritate the public mind, and seemed to have led to those evils which now, in subserviency to the ministerial project, were ascribed to other causes.

The noble marquis felt inexpressible uneasiness at being branded as a factious man, after he had sacrificed his youth, his health, and his fortune, in the support of the king and the government of Ireland. Was it just or candid to impute seditious views to one who had pursued an opposite course, and who had studiously cherished the soundest principles of loyalty. In putting his signature to the *letter missive* he had acted as an independent gentleman of Ireland, as a man of large possessions, acquainted with the state of the country, and deeply interested in its welfare. As it had been confidently asserted, that the Unionists had a greater extent of property than their opponents, it was incumbent on those who had a better knowledge of the opinion of the public to call for a

which he was inordinately fond, that it preyed upon his spirits, and contributed to hasten his dissolution; and he is said to have avowed in his last illness, that of all the political actions of his life he most repented of his exertions to bring about the Union. His ambition aspired to rule the British councils, as he had so long directed those of Ireland. There he failed.

constitutional declaration of sentiment, not from the dregs of the people, but from the more respectable part of the community, that the minister and his friends might be convinced of their error.

Lord Glentworth declared his firm conviction that an union alone could quiet the country and secure the empire. In the present state of Ireland, there was no medium between close union and total separation. He mingled with his arguments severe strictures upon the triumvirate, and asserted the notoriety of the existence of the treasury mentioned by the chancellor.

Viscount Dillon was apprehensive that disloyalty would not be checked by the Union, and that it would not promote the security of the country. Lord Donoghmore reasoned chiefly on the subject of the Catholic claims, which, he thought, might be more safely and effectually adjusted after a consolidation of the legislatures. Viscount Powerscourt denied the competency of the parliament to adopt the measure. Viscount Carleton not only defended that point, but supported the particular provisions of the plan; and the archbishop of Cashel also argued in favour of the competency. The earl of Farnham objected to the inconvenient distance of the united parliament from Ireland, and dreaded the provincial subjection of that country to Britain. The earl of Glendore was an advocate for the Union, as were the chief justice Kilwarden, and lord Sunderlin; the earl of Bellamont strongly declaimed against it. The first resolution passed the house by a majority of 49, the numbers being 75 for and 26 against it.

On the 24th of February, it was resolved in the lords, that the house should be put into a committee again to take the said message into further consideration on Monday the 11th of March, and the lords to be summoned.*

The general principles of the Union having been amply discussed in both houses, it was moved, on the 14th of February, in the commons, that a general committee should proceed to the consideration of the particular terms of the Union, when colonel Vereker congratulated the house on what he termed the defeat of the ministry, in obtaining such a paltry majority at the last meeting, and hoped either that the project would be abandoned, or that ample time would be allowed for ascertaining the sense of the people on the subject.

* 8 Lords Journ. p. 343.

Leinster
Downshire
Bellamont
Dillon
William Down & Connor
Louth
Sunderlin

Dissentient.

Charlemont
Meath
Mount Cashell
Strangford
Rich. Waterford & Lismore
Blaney

Enniskillen
Granard
Farnham
Powerscourt
Dunsany
Lismore

A warm debate ensued, in which the honourable George Knox observed, that though an Union might not be an innovation upon words or names, it would be an innovation upon the spirit and substance of the constitution. If the parliament should be removed to Madras, it might be said that the Irish would retain their former constitution; but he deemed it an essential part of the system, that there should be a free, constant, and immediate communication between the legislature and the nation for which it acted.

Many gentlemen spoke to the question, and most of them for delay. Mr. Goold entered at large into the whole subject: He said, that the records of the whole world did not exhibit a scene so singular as that of a minister desiring a parliament to extinguish itself on account of its crimes or its legislative impotency.

A motion for adjournment having been made, with a view to the production of additional documents requisite for the accurate comprehension of some of the detailed articles, 89 members voted for it, and 126 against it: it was then moved, that the debate should be adjourned to the 17th, which the secretary, though he negatived the motion by a majority of 47, assented should take place.

On the appointed day, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry, retraced his old ground of argument, which he interspersed with much personal acrimony and abuse, directed particularly to Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himself in strong language, and retorted upon his opponent the insinuations of unconstitutional and treasonable conduct. Mr. Corry replied with redoubled severity; and Mr. Grattan rejoined with such increased power of censure, as threw the *onus* of resentment completely on Mr. Corry.*

* The house saw the inevitable consequences. The speaker (the house was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition for an amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, he saw, and had been some time aware of a set made at him, to *pistol him off* on that question; therefore it was as well the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties had instantly left the house upon Mr. Grattan's finishing his philippic. Matters having been speedily adjusted by the seconds, they proceeded in hackney coaches to a field on the Ball's Bridge road, which they reached in the twilight. It was agreed they should level and fire at their own option. The first shot on both sides did no mischief; Mr. Grattan's passed through Mr. Corry's coat. On the second level there was much science and pistol play. Mr. Grattan, whose nerves were as firm as a rock, kept his man accurately covered, reserved his shot to make it the more secure, which Mr. Corry perceiving, called to his second, and it was settled upon the honour of the parties, that both should fire together. Mr. Corry missed his aim, and Mr. Grattan's ball hit his antagonist on the knuckle of his left hand, which he had extended across his breast to protect his right side, and taking a direction along his wrist, did no other injury.

The populace, notwithstanding the quickness and secrecy with which the business was conducted, followed the parties to the ground, and there was rea-

General Hutchinson ridiculed the fears or the pretences of those members, who alleged, that the measure would subvert the independence of Ireland, and enslave her to a foreign parliament. To the control of that legislature, he said, the Irish were already subject in all questions of external legislation. The co-equality of their parliament with that of Great Britain was the dream of fancy, which never could be realised; it would be better to be a component part of a free and flourishing empire, than to be a weak and petty state, convulsed with faction, or the deluded victim of treacherous allies and unfeeling despots.

Great Britain could not be false to Ireland, and at the same time true to herself. Her capacious wisdom had long since taught her, that the prosperity of each island was necessary to the other.

The experience of two centuries tended to destroy the hope of the stability of the present constitution of the Hibernian parliament. Its failure was manifest; it had weakened the empire without strengthening Ireland. Formed for the infancy of a foreign and a small colony, it had sunk before the manhood of a great nation, and become private property instead of public right. The national tranquillity could not be secured by such a parliament, amidst the disorders and turmoils of Europe. If within every thing were hollow, if without every thing menacing, where was the remedy against internal distraction? Where the shield against foreign invasion? What was property without security? What liberty when life was in danger, and when the house of a country gentleman must either be his garrison or his tomb?

All the arguments which he had heard against the Union, were addresses to the pride, the passions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more accustomed to act from the impulse of quick feelings, than from the dictates of sound discretion and sober reason. He admitted the necessity of endeavouring to preserve a sense of national dignity: it was the source of all pre-eminence, of all power, strength, and greatness. He wished that Ireland had something to nourish this noble passion; but for the last six centuries, she had exhibited the melancholy picture of savage acrimony and barbarous discord, of party zeal and sectarian struggle; of a fugitive government without fixed principles; a minis-

son to fear, had Mr. Grattan fallen, that his antagonist would have been sacrificed on the spot to the resentment of the populace, so enthusiastically were they devoted to their favourite. The issue of this affair reached the House of Commons whilst they were still in debate at half past eight in the morning. Before Mr. Grattan went to the ground, a most affecting and truly Roman meeting took place between him and Mrs. Grattan. That gentleman was as eminent for the endearments of domestic felicity as he was conspicuous for his exertions in the cause of the people.

ter without responsibility; a parliament fearless of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant aristocracy, and a deluded nation. For eighty years of this century, the government had been the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. The treatment of the Catholics, in particular, had been brutally inhuman; and, though some of the laws against that sect had been repealed the consequences of a barbarous code were still evident. Under such a mode of administration, it was impossible to hope for love of the laws, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government. That pure, unsullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principal of states, the only solid foundation of legitimate rule, which would not yield to the clumsy chain of force, but was created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nourished by hope, could only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of the earth would at length learn this salutary truth, that government must ever be in danger when the subject had nothing to lose.

In a country where equal law and equal liberty were unknown, the progress of French principles, to which he chiefly attributed the late rebellion, would be more rapid than in other states. An island thus misgoverned was a prepared soil for the reception of Jacobin principles; and they had flourished in it with all the growth of rank luxuriance. He concluded a most impressive constitutional and elegant speech by declaring, that no popular delusion, no idle clamor or misrepresentation, should ever induce him to depart from what he considered as a great fundamental truth, that the best government for these countries would be one executive and one legislative, a connected people and an united parliament.

After several members had taken part in the debate, Mr Foster affirmed, that the boasted terms, instead of offering great benefits, were replete with injury; that every point to which they tended might be as well secured by a separate parliament; that all contained the seeds of constant jealousy, and avowed distinct interests, the continuance of which they ensured, and therefore must promote separation. He entered into the detail of the proposed plan of future finance, revenue, and commerce, in which there was not one article, to which an Irish parliament was not less adequate, inasmuch as the regulation of duties and of trade between the kingdoms required a quick and ready knowledge of the local circumstances of Ireland, which could be effectually obtained by a resident legislature alone.

As to the constitutional effects of the scheme, he observed, that the upper house created a sort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet

enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. Every body knew, or should know, that by the original and uninterrupted constitution of parliament, a lord could not interfere in the election of a commoner; yet here he was not only to interfere, but might be a candidate, and might sit and act as a commoner. The twenty-eight chosen lords were to sit for life, though they were only representatives; thus counteracting one great principle, that representatives shall only act for a time limited, acknowledged by the septennial and octennial bills, and by the articles of the Scotch Union in respect to the lords. With this seat for life to the chosen lords, what was to become of the remaining peers, perhaps nearer 200 than 100 in number? They then were legislators: pass these articles, they would instantly cease to be so: they would be the only subjects in Ireland incapable of acting as legislators; a degradation ruinous to the nobility. This fatal measure of election for life would leave so little hope and so little chance, that all inducement to improvement, to education, to study the interests of his country, would be done away. It would depress the spirit, and enervate the exertions of all the rising nobility of the land. Further, by a strange sort of absurdity, the measure, in suffering him as a commoner to take a British seat, and refusing to allow him an Irish one, admitted this monstrous position, that in the country where his property, his connexions, and residence were, he should not be chosen a legislator, but where he was wholly a stranger, he might; the certain consequence of which was, that it would induce a residence of the Irish nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and must of course solicit interest; thereby increasing the number of Irish absentees, and gradually weaning the men of largest fortune from an acquaintance or a connexion with their native country.

As to the commons, this fatal Union would not be less unconstitutional. It reduced their number from 300 to 100. One great principle was, that in the House of Commons every species of property was represented, and the wisdom of the whole increased by a mixture of country gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, and men of all professions. But that measure shut the door against commercial men and against the professors of the law, who could not desert their business to attend parliament in another country.

In controverted elections the impracticability, expense, and difficulties in bringing over evidence, must necessarily leave the nomination with the sheriff.

After some other observations and several repetitions of remark, he spoke of the tendency of the measure to an augmentation of the influence of the crown; censured the unconstitutional use, to which the place bill had been perverted by the minister and his

friends, the appeal nominal, to which they had resorted against the decision of parliament, and the monstrous proposal of applying the public money to the purchase of public rights from private individuals, and finally moved for a dereliction of the project.

Lord Castlereagh blamed the want of foresight in the speaker, who, without reflecting on the distractions and evils of Ireland, opposed the idea of settlement, and would leave the country open to a renewal of disorder and mischief, to a fresh gradation from jealousy to discontent, from discontent to faction, from faction to conspiracy, from conspiracy to rebellion.

Mr. William Johnson indignantly reprobated the insinuations of corrupt influence, thrown out against those who favoured the Union. The question had been forced upon them by the prevailing calamities; and he had examined it from no other motive or impulse than an anxious desire of meeting the peculiar evils of the country, which he viewed under three aspects, constitution, internal quiet, and commerce.

After several speeches of less moment, Mr. William Smith in reply to some strictures on the proposed regulations of the peerage observed, that the alterations would not diminish the real dignity of the peers, or injure the essence of their privileges, and would materially conduce to the benefit of the country. Though only a part would be admitted to a seat in the imperial House of Lords, a great number, he said, would have an opportunity of constituting a portion of the assembly of the commons, and would thus maintain and strengthen the interests of Ireland in the united legislature. The minister carried the question by a majority of 46.

When lord Castlereagh, on the 21st of February, moved for the assent of the committee to the first article of the plan, Mr. O'Hara deprecated his obstinate persistence in the fatal measure. His lordship's avowal, that the question resolved itself into this, whether Ireland were to be a magazine of strength and resources to Great Britain, or of wealth for the grasp of France, sufficiently proved, that the object was the sacrifice of one country to the necessities of the other; an illiberal principle, which the Irish ought to resist with indignant warmth.

Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Tighe, lord Corry, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, and Mr. J. C. Beresford were against the terms as well as the principle.

Mr. Saurin called the attention of the committee to the means by which the minister had procured his parliamentary majority, namely, the undue exercise of the patronage of the crown, promises of office and emolument, the abuse of the place bill, the project of pecuniary compensation for what was not the fair or legal subject of pecuniary estimation, and the encouragement of indi-

gent adventurers from the bar and the British army. If the nation should view the majority in such a light, on what foundation would the Union stand?

The terms he considered as refutations of the pretended excellence, and libels on the principle of the measure. Identity was promised as the grand object; yet every thing spoke distinctness. Another feature struck him in the ministerial arrangement. The general parliament, it was supposed, would be a paragon of purity and worth; yet the minister acknowledged that it ought not to be trusted; and he therefore shackled and restrained its omnipotence. Mr. Saurin conceived the measure fatal to the interests of Ireland, and disclaimed any responsibility in the calamitous consequences.

The attorney general re-asserted the necessity of an Union, which was also supported by Mr. Monck Mason and Mr. Ormsby. Mr. serjeant Stanley on the same side panegyricised the British minister for boldly striking at the root, from which the disorders and calamities of Ireland had sprung, and bringing forward that great measure of imperial policy, which the best friends of this country had long anxiously desired rather than confidently expected.

The question was then put on the motion of adjournment, which being rejected, the first day of the following January was fixed for the commencement of the Union of the kingdoms, and the article which related to the settlement of the crown was also voted by the committee.

On the 24th of February, Mr. Shaw having warmly opposed the prosecution of the scheme, a division took place, when there appeared 56 for the speaker's leaving the chair, and 48 against it.

Some further conversations, in which nothing new occurred, took place, and in compliance with some of the petitions against the measure, several gentlemen of the law appeared at the bar to oppose various parts of the commercial scheme, and witnesses were brought forward to give evidence against it. On the 4th of March Mr. G. Ponsonby alleging, that the sovereign would not have persisted in recommending the present measure, unless he had firmly believed, that the sentiments of the public on the subject had undergone a great change, urged the house to remove so injurious a delusion by an intimation of the truth. A knowledge of the number of anti-union petitions would, he said, correct that error; and he therefore proposed an address, stating, that in conformity with the constitutional rights of the people, petitions against a legislative Union had been presented to the parliament from twenty-six counties, and from various cities and towns.

Lord Castlereagh affirmed, that the public opinion had really undergone a change friendly to the measure, and that seventy-

four declarations, nineteen of which were of those counties, had been presented in its favour. Even if this were not the case, he would oppose a motion, which derogated from the deliberative power of parliament, and tended to encourage a popular interference pregnant in these critical times with danger and alarm.

Mr. Saurin and several other gentlemen of the bar maintained the constitutionality of such appeals to the people; and the lords Corry and Cole and some others supported the question, which was met by a motion for adjournment. On the opposite side spoke lord Charles Fitzgerald, Mr. Fox, Mr. Ormsby, and several other members; between seven and eight in the morning the house divided on the question of adjournment, ayes 155, noes 107.

On the 10th of March, the subject of parliamentary representation was discussed, and carried by a majority of 19.

A conversation then arose on the topic of compensation for the loss of the patronage of boroughs. Lord Castlereagh persisted in the intention of proposing a recompence, though Messrs. Plunkett and Goold inveighed with great warmth against the idea of rewarding the profligate invaders of the rights of the people, and expressed their astonishment at the shameless inconsistency and absurdity of those who could assert the omnipotence of parliament, when the members had once been chosen by the people, yet avowed that the majority were not the fair representatives of the nation, but merely the creatures of borough proprietors.

To disprove the assertion that Cork favoured the Union, sir John Freke presented a petition against it from eighteen hundred of the inhabitants of that city; but general Hutchinson affirmed, that this was not the sense of the majority of the traders or freemen of Cork. Colonel Longfield and Mr. May concurred in that declaration. Sir John Parnell again recommended a dissolution of the parliament, that the opinions of the people might be more certainly known; but Mr. Corry reprobated that appeal as unnecessary and imprudent.

The discussion was renewed on the 13th of March, when sir John Parnell moved in form, that the king should be addressed to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of Union should be adopted. Mr. A. Moore seconded this proposal as wise and honest; and sir Laurence Parsons, though sensible of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, declared his willingness to put the fate of the question on the election of a new parliament. Mr. Alexander opposed the motion; but major Osborne was zealous in its support, as was also Mr. Saurin, who urged the expediency of attending to the sense of the nation, and maintained, that if laws should be enacted in op-

position to the public will, constitutionally expressed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of resistance would revert to the people. The solicitor general could not hear such doctrine without horror; and he accused the *father of the bar* of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion; but Mr. Egan hinted, that the ministry had unfurled the flag of prostitution and corruption. Mr. Saurin's opinions were strongly combated by dr. Duigenan, as unconstitutional and mischievous. Mr. serjeant Stanley, lord Castlereagh, Mr. May, and sir John Blaquiere declaimed against the proposal of appealing to the public, and urged the house to stigmatize with decisive effect the alarming invitation to popular resistance. Mr. Grattan, on the other hand, vindicated the sentiments of the barrister, and recommended the appeal, not as a reference to the mere multitude, but to the constituent body. On a division for the address, there appeared 150 votes against the motion, and only 104 for it. The house adjourned at four o'clock in the morning.

On the following day, the prime serjeant stated the expediency of an identification of the churches as well as of the parliaments of the two countries; and observed, that whatever indulgence after that might be extended to the Catholics, there would then be no danger of the subversion of the Protestant church of Ireland. This article was quickly voted, and that which respected the existing laws and courts of both countries passed without opposition.

The sixth article, which had been postponed on account of the complexity of the subject, was brought forward on the 19th of March by the right honourable Mr. Beresford, who entered very ably into all the calculations, estimates, and revolutions upon this commercial article, which without any opposition received the assent of the committee.

When it was proposed that the house should be resumed for the reception of the report, Mr. O'Hara stated some objections to the assigned rate of contribution for Ireland, which he deemed too high; and Mr. Grattan again expatiated on the impolicy and injustice of the Union.

Mr. Foster and lord Castlereagh both spoke with great animosity. Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. Saurin, and some others warmly opposed the report of the resolutions, but it was carried by a similar majority as the former questions. When the report was presented to the house on the 21st, sir Laurence Parsons then expressed his hope, that when the scheme should appear in the form of a bill, those gentlemen who had so nobly stood forward in defence of the country would again assail it with the most determined energy. Sir John Freke represented the terms as so dis-

advantageous, that they had not made a convert of a single member, who had censured the principle of the measure. After some desultory conversation, the resolutions received the sanction of the house.

A message was then sent to the House of Lords, importing that the commons had agreed to the articles* of the Union; and on the 27th, the peers intimated to the other house, that they had adopted them with some alterations and additions. These amendments were readily approved by the commons; and lord Castlereagh immediately proposed an address to his majesty, in which both houses concurred. In this address they declared, that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, by a complete and entire Union of their legislatures; that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.

On the day (the 22d of March) on which the articles were carried up to the lords, lord Farnham opposed the fourth article, alleging, that the representation of the Irish peerage was a mere mockery to cover the folly and injustice of the Union. Lord chief baron Yelverton in favour of the Union entered very fully into the subject. The great value, he said, of the arrangement of 1782, which he had assisted in forming, was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would perhaps before this time have yielded to an union of subjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated, and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by Union: their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad base with those of Great Britain. The Hibernian parliament would so far be annihilated, as to be no longer a distinct legislature, and so would that of Great Britain be extinguished; but out of the two a third would arise, neither British nor Irish, but a compound body, more competent than either to promote and secure the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness of the whole.

* These articles are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXIX.

If an idle fondness for independence had prevailed from the beginning, no political association could ever have been framed, and mankind must have remained in a state of nature. But prudence and policy taught two or more families to form a society, societies to form a nation, and small nations to form a great one, by sacrificing distinct independence to common security.

His lordship combated the conclusion drawn against the Union from the interposition of the sea as a physical barrier between Ireland and Britain, by alleging, that the commercial utility of the sea was rather an argument for an Union. He then asserted the competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, saying, that union was only a law common to two states, and that to doubt the competency of two legislatures to frame such a law was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution.

Then the question, whether twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament, was carried by a majority of thirty-four. Two amendments were proposed by the earl of Clare, and adopted: importing, that on the extinction of three Irish peerages one might be created, till the number should be reduced to 100, and afterwards one for every failure; and that the qualifications of the Irish for the imperial parliament should be the same in point of property with those of the British members.

All the articles having been consented to in the committee, the report was offered on the 26th of March, and confirmed by the house. A message to the commons was then proposed, when the earl of Bellamont renewed his opposition to the general measure.

The earl of Desart thought the propositions too advantageous to Ireland to justify refusal. Viscount Powerscourt considered them in an opposite light: and the duke of Leinster apprehended, that disunion and perpetual separation would be the ultimate result of the projected scheme. A motion for delay was put by the Anti-unionists, and negatived by 47 against 18 votes. The original motion was carried by 72 against 22. The plan of the Union was then left to the final consideration of the British legislature.

The articles of Union thus passed through the Irish parliament as they had been originally framed by the British ministry, having received no other alterations in their progress than such as were dictated by the court. They were now brought forward as terms proposed by the lords and commons of Ireland in the form of resolutions. And on the 2d day of April, 1800, the duke of Portland communicated to the House of Lords a message from

the king, and at the same time presented to them as documents a copy of the Irish address with the resolutions.*

Lord Grenville then moved an address to his majesty, that the documents should be printed and their lordships summoned for

* As these resolutions contain merely the substance of the articles, they are not given. The following was the address of the Irish peers and commons and the king's message to the British peers.

GEORGE R.

IT is with the most sincere satisfaction that his majesty finds himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions, which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire Union between the two kingdoms. His majesty is persuaded that this house will participate in the pleasure, with which his majesty observes the conformity of sentiment manifested in the proceedings of his two parliaments, after long and careful deliberation on this most important subject; and he earnestly recommends to this house, to take all such further steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security and happiness of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire.

His grace then presented, by command of his majesty, the documents referred to in his majesty's message; which were as follows, viz.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble address of the lords spiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, beg leave to acquaint your majesty that we have taken into our most serious and deliberate consideration the great and important subject of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which was laid before us in his excellency the lord lieutenant's message to both houses of parliament on the 5th of February last, accompanied by the resolutions of the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, proposing that great measure, and the earnest and solemn recommendation of your majesty.

"Deeply impressed with the necessity of rendering the connexion of Great Britain and this kingdom indissoluble, and truly sensible of the repeated efforts, which have been made by foreign and domestic enemies, to shake that connexion, and to effect their entire separation, we fully approve and cordially embrace the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom under your majesty's auspicious government, by a complete and entire Union of their legislatures.

"We do consider the resolutions of the two houses of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, we have adopted them as our guide, in the measures we have pursued, and we now feel it our duty to lay before your majesty the resolutions to which we have agreed; which resolutions we humbly submit to your majesty may form the articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which, if they shall be approved by the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, we are ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same may be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.

"We doubt not that your majesty, and your parliament of Great Britain, will consider these resolutions as the most unequivocal testimony of our zealous loyalty to your majesty's sacred person, family and government, and as an unalterable pledge of our attachment to the British empire: we offer them in the full

the 21st: on which day earl Fitzwilliam recommended to the peers a longer delay, that the commons might previously reinvestigate the subject; but, finding that lord Grenville only intended to move at that time for the adoption of the three first resolutions, he was satisfied with the postponement of the rest.

Lord Holland affirmed, that, since the question had been last discussed, nothing had occurred to induce him to approve the measure. Some of the arguments used by its advocates appeared to him to be drawn from the principles of Messieurs Robespierre and Barrère, who had contended for an empire one and indivisible, in preference to the union of its parts by federalism. It would not operate as a remedy for the discontent of the various descriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not ensure a redress of grievances, but would increase that influence, which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish; and, if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connexion between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief. He should oppose the motion for a committee.

Lord Grenville thought it unnecessary to debate the principles of an Union, as no question, in the course of his parliamentary experience, had ever been more amply or ably discussed. In reply to some of the arguments of the noble lord, he said, he was convinced, that the measure would extinguish rather than produce evil. He did not think that British influence would improperly or injuriously predominate. The Irish would enjoy a fair proportion of legislative power; and their interests would be as much regarded as those of their British neighbours. That the English constitution would be endangered by the introduction of Irish members, there was no reason to apprehend; for the mode of electing the representatives of the commons would not lead them into subserviency to the crown; and the peers, retaining their seats for life, would be as independent as any of the English nobility.

On a division, only three peers (the earl of Derby and the lords Holland and King) voted against, and 82 supported the motion for going into a committee. The three first articles were then proposed to the committee, and received the assent of the peers.

conviction, that, by incorporating the legislatures, and by consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we shall increase the power and stability of that empire, and that, by uniting ourselves with your majesty's subjects of Great Britain under one parliament, and under one government, we shall most effectually provide for the improvement of our commerce, the security of our religion, and the preservation of our liberties.

JOHN GYER, D. C. P.
G. F. HILL, C. D. C."

In the House of Commons, on the same day, 21st of April, Mr chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee to consider of his majesty's most gracious message relative to the propositions of the Irish parliament for an incorporating Union with Great Britain.

Previous to the speaker's leaving the chair, he also moved, that the resolutions of both houses of parliament agreed to last sessions, relating to the Union with Ireland, with the address thereon to his majesty, be referred to the said committee.

Mr. Jones rose; but the speaker informed him, that if he had any objections to urge, the proper stage would be upon the question for going into a committee.

Mr. chancellor Pitt expressed his regret at observing a disposition on the part of the honourable gentleman to oppose the speaker's leaving the chair. He wished that honourable gentleman, and the house in general, to recollect that the present question was, whether it were proper to proceed to the consideration of a message of his majesty, recommending a measure which had been the result of an address of the house? He moved "that the speaker do leave the chair."

Mr. Jones said, that, inasmuch as he considered the measure, it went in its operation to annihilate the parliament and representation of Ireland, and to eradicate and tear up root and branch the British constitution, he felt himself bounden to give it every opposition in his power. After the firm, determined, and manly manner, in which Ireland had revolted at the projected slavery holden out by the present measure, he should have thought it inconsistent with the prudence, discretion, and moderation of his majesty's ministers to have abandoned it till a season when the feelings of the people of Ireland were less inimical to it. But his majesty's ministers, he was sorry to observe, were resolved to effect their purpose. To attain which, they first applied to the virtues of the people of Ireland, recommending the measure as one calculated to insure the prosperity of their country. Their virtues determined them to reject propositions so adverse to their liberties. He feared that a different mode had since been adopted; that an appeal had been made to their vices; that corruption had been resorted to, and no means had been left untried by his majesty's ministers to accomplish their object. Their motto had been

"Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo."

He referred them to one of the speeches of Mr. Foster expressive of his disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in not being induced by the general indignation of the peo-

ple of Ireland to abandon their intention of carrying the Union into effect.*

He called upon the country gentlemen in particular to exert themselves upon the present momentous occasion. "Sir," said he, "I shall give as decided a vote against your leaving the chair as ever proceeded from the mouth of man."

The motion was then agreed to, and the house resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Sylvester Douglas in the chair.

As soon as a committee was formed, Mr. Pitt assuming the sense of the house to be determinately favourable to the principle of Union entered upon the discussion of the particular mode of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred members to sit for Ireland in the imperial House of Commons, he was sensible of the difficulty of finding a precise ground, upon which a just estimate of that point might be formed; but he was the less anxious about it, as the particular number was not very important. If there should be a sufficient number of representatives to make known the local wants, state the interests and convey the sentiments, of that part of the empire, the impartiality and collective wisdom of the united parliament would ensure a due attention to the general security and welfare. Population alone would not form a good *criterion*; but, if it should be combined with the idea of the proportional contributions of the two countries to the public exigencies, the result might be fairly applied to the present occasion. It would allow more than five for Great Britain to one for Ireland; and thus 100 members might be deemed a satisfactory number for the latter country. The mode of selection was the next point of consideration. It was not his wish to augment by this arrangement the influence of the crown: the selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland might rather be thought favourable to the popular interest. The members for

* "But if I dislike the whole of the measure for its mischief and imperfections, I reprobate still more the means proposed for effecting it. When the noble lord mentioned compensation for the boroughs, he saw the feelings of the house; and I was happy to observe that in his printed speech (which he has mentioned) it was omitted. I thought the indignation which appeared had induced him to abandon it; but I now find from his right honourable friend, that it is not given up. Were I speaking in another parliament, I should impute the hardness which mentioned such a base and humiliating bribe, to a previous knowledge that it had received the approbation of many members. What is the plain language of it? I am to propose a measure by which two hundred of you are to lose your seats; many of you have bought them; and others claim a right to them; you shall not suffer; the public shall pay you for selling yourselves and your constituents; and the price you receive shall become the purchase money for your selling your country afterwards. It is a most monstrous unconstitutional offer. Do you publicly avow that borough representation is a private property, and do you confirm that avowal by the government becoming the purchasers?"

counties and the principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus the choice would provide both for the security of the landed interest and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would not be accompanied with any change in the internal form of British representation, it would not alarm the enemies of innovation. Whatever were the opinions which he formerly entertained on the subject of parliamentary reform, he was not ashamed to acknowledge that he now thought it imprudent and hazardous to make any attempt of that kind. When he reflected, that the spirit of reform had led to mischievous changes and dangerous subversions, he dreaded the effects of political experiment. When he considered also, that, amidst the late fiery trials, the constitution of this country had remained pure, untouched in its vital principles; that it had supported itself against open attacks as well as against insidious machinations; that it had disappointed the hopes of France, and baffled the efforts of jacobinism; and that, during the whole contest, it had retained the confidence of the nation; he should deserve the strongest censure, should he attempt, in the vain hope of improvement, to disturb a system which had been found sufficient, in the most perilous of times, to protect the general interest and to maintain the public security and happiness.

As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number for the present, should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest,

The number of peers, who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility, might, he said, be properly fixed at thirty-two. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland and to the number of delegates from the commons of Ireland. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended as a mode more conformable to the general spirit of the establishment of nobles, than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the House of Commons as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, he was likewise disposed to approve, as, without violating the constitution, it would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring political and legislative experience, which certainly would not render them less qualified for serving their country in a higher parliamentary assembly. The permission of creating new peers of Ireland he also justified; for, though in Scotland the peerage might maintain itself for a very long course of time without any accession, from the great extent

of inheritance allowed by the generality of the patents, there was a risque of such a diminution of the number of Hibernian peers, from the limitation of the right of succession, as might at no very distant period render the election individual.

In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be holden in this island. This he pronounced a reasonable addition; and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the Catholics, would at the same time be generally allowed.

The next article, he said, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudice. It was stipulated that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufacturers should sustain partial loss in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage. His arguments in support of the intended regulations of finance between the countries, were similar to those of lord Castlereagh: he concluded his speech in the following words: "The ample discussion, which every part of this subject has met with, (so ample that nothing like its deliberation was ever known before in any legislature) has silenced clamour, has rooted out prejudice, has over-ruled objections, has answered all arguments, has refuted all cavils, and caused the plan to be entirely esteemed. Both branches of the legislature, after long discussion, mature deliberation, and laborious inquiry, have expressed themselves clearly and decidedly in its favour. The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were most likely, because best enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly in its favour. Let me not say, for I do not intend it, that there were among the intelligent part of the public, none who were against the measure; I know there were; and I know too, that in a question involving so many interests, the same thing will, to different individuals, appear in different points of view: hence arises a diversity of opinion. That has been the case in almost every thing that ever was argued, and must be so in every thing that is contested; but after all, it is clear that the parliament was in a situation, that the people of Ireland was in a situation to judge of this measure: it was not because the measure was not vigorously opposed; the friends of the measure have had to stand against the threats of popular violence, against the enemies of the government under

“ the lead of Protestants, against the violent and inflamed spirit
 “ and fierce attack of the Irish Catholics, and against the aggre-
 “ gate of all evils, the spirit of all mischief, the implacable op-
 “ position and determined hostility of furious jacobinism ; they
 “ had to meet the inflamed passions of disappointed ambition,
 “ which under the name and pretext of superior patriotism, un-
 “ der colour of jealousy for others freedom, under affected ten-
 “ derness for landed interest, affected care for commercial wel-
 “ fare, would reduce the state to ruin, because they were not its
 “ rulers. Notwithstanding all this opposition, the parties engag-
 “ ed in it have not been able to prove any thing, but that their
 “ own fury was ungovernable, their predictions chimerical, and
 “ their hopes delusive. The friends of the measure have had to
 “ stand against the principles which fomented and unhappily in-
 “ flamed the late Irish rebellion ; they had to contend against
 “ the active but mischievous efforts of the friends and champions
 “ of jacobinism, to whom it was enough to make them hate the
 “ Union, that it had a tendency to preserve order, because any
 “ thing like order was an extinction of their hopes. We have
 “ seen, that the wisdom of parliament and the good sense of the
 “ people of Ireland have prevailed over this mighty host of foes ;
 “ we have seen the friends who supported, and the enemies who
 “ opposed this great national object ; and are enabled, by all that
 “ has happened, to judge pretty accurately of the sentiments of
 “ both, with their tendency or effect on the fate of the British
 “ empire. It is under that confidence that I do what I am now
 “ doing, and will continue to do whatever may depend on me, to
 “ submit to the committee all necessary measures to carry this
 “ great and important work to its full, and, I trust, speedy accom-
 “ plishment.”

Mr. Grey was not disposed to analyse the articles, as he had
 insuperable objections to the principle of the measure, to the time
 in which it was brought forward, and to the means used for its
 accomplishment. The assent of the people was requisite to give
 it full sanction and complete effect. It was said, that the public
 voice was in its favour, after a fair appeal to the unbiassed sense of
 the nation. Nineteen counties were said to have signified a wish
 for its adoption ; and he believed that addresses had really been
 presented from that number of shires ; but by whom they were
 signed he did not exactly know, though it had been understood they
 were procured at meetings not regularly convened, and promoted by
 the personal exertions of a governor, who to the powerful influ-
 ence of the crown added the terrors of martial law. To speak
 of the uncontrolled opinion of the community, in such a case,
 reminded him of the duke of Buckingham's account to Richard
 III. of the manner, in which the citizens of London had agreed

to his claim of the crown.* Against the Union the petitions were very numerous ; and they were more honourably voted, and more respectable from the signatures, than the ministerial addresses. They were the produce of twenty-seven counties ; and the chief towns of the kingdom had furnished many of the number. From a comparison of these with the addresses, and an unprejudiced observation of the state of affairs in Ireland, it might be fairly concluded, that the greater part of the nation approved the scheme. The parliamentary majority, of which the courtiers boasted, would not have been obtained, if placemen had been debarred from voting, and if all undue influence, abuse of authority, and the supply of forced vacancies in the House of Commons with dependent voters, had been avoided.†

Mr. Greyspoke very largely as to the Union with Scotland. The opposition of the Scots, perhaps, equalled in violence that of the Irish ; and this seemed to be the only point of resemblance. There was no physical impediment to the northern Union. The two countries were so situated as to require only one executive administration ; and a complete identification was also practicable in financial arrangements. But such an identity of regulation

* Some followers of mine own
At lowest end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, God save king Richard.
And thus I took the 'vantage of those few——
Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, quoth I ;
This general applause and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard.

† Mr. Grey here said, he did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the Irish parliament. But the facts were notorious. 11 *Parl. Reg.* p. 282. " There are 300 members in all, and 120 of these strenuously opposed the measure, among whom were two thirds of the county members, the representatives of the city of Dublin, and of almost all the towns which it is proposed shall send members to the imperial parliament. 162 voted in favour of the Union ; of those 116 were placemen, some of them were English generals on the staff, without one foot of ground in Ireland, and completely dependent upon government. Is there any ground then to presume, that even the parliament of Ireland thinks as the right honourable gentleman supposes ; or that, acting only from a regard to the good of their country, the members would not have reprobated the measure as strongly and unanimously as the rest of the people ? But this is not all ! let us reflect upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish parliament to pack a majority in the House of Commons. All holding offices under government, even the most intimate friends of the minister, who had uniformly supported his administration till the present occasion, if they hesitated to vote as directed, were dismissed from office, and stripped of their employments. Even this step was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, which, I cannot name in this place, all will easily conjecture. A bill for preserving the purity of parliament was likewise abused, and no less than sixty-three seats were vacated by their holders having received nominal offices. I will not press this subject farther upon the attention of the committee. I defy any man to lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes the parliament of Ireland was sincerely in favour of the measure."

could not take place between Ireland and Great Britain. There must still be a separate government and a distinct treasury ; and there could be no security for the forbearance of oppression with regard to Ireland, as she would be at the mercy of Britain, whose attention to her own interest might sometimes prompt her to make an ill use of her power.

The parliaments of Scotland and England were at open variance. The former prohibited the importation of English commodities, and enacted, that the crown should not descend to the same person, who should occupy the English throne, unless various demands should be granted. The latter ordained, that the Scots should be treated as aliens, and that all trade with them should be suspended. Preparations were even made for hostility ; but the English ministry, unwilling to proceed to sanguinary extremities, proposed to the Scots an incorporative Union. The means used to promote the acceptance of this offer were not strictly justifiable ; but acquiescence was at length obtained. It excited the indignation of every honest man to observe, that under very different circumstances more unjustifiable arts had been used to accomplish this measure altogether unnecessary. Had Ireland checked or prohibited British trade, or had she refused to adopt the same rules of regal succession ? On the contrary, did there not exist between the countries an amity, which nothing but the folly of ministers could diminish or derange, an affection, which nothing but their violence could destroy.

It was affirmed, that the Union had been productive of extraordinary benefit to Scotland ; but it was reasonable to suppose, that North Britain would have made equal progress in prosperity without the aid of an incorporation with England and Wales. The Union was so far from promoting its improvement in point of trade and industry, that the linen manufacture declined after that event. Indeed, little advance was made before the rebellion of the year 1745. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions was the first measure, that gave a strong impulse to the spirit of manufacturing exertion and commercial enterprise in Scotland. From that time the prosperity of the country had increased, but not in so great a degree, as that of Ireland during the same period.

That the Union soon became popular among the Scots, had been asserted in a former debate. The alleged instance was drawn from the year 1715, when the pretender found it expedient to suppress that part of his manifesto in which he had promised to re-establish the Scottish parliament. This was affirmed on the authority of a manuscript left by sir John Clerk ; but it ought to be considered, that it was unsupported by other testimony, and that sir John was connected by marriage with the duke of Queens-

bury, the chief of the Scotch Unionists: it was therefore no more surprising, that such a man should represent the measure as popular, than that lord Castlereagh or some of his friends and relatives should speak of the new project of Union as being supported by the general voice of Ireland.

That the Union was not popular in Scotland, appeared from a series of the most indisputable facts, as well as the most unquestionable documents. In the year 1713, a motion was made by the earl of Findlater to dissolve the Union, and that motion was supported by the Whig party, by lord Sunderland and several others, who had been commissioners in adjusting the transaction. Upon that occasion there was an equality of votes, there being fifty-four on each side; and it was decided in favour of an Union, only by a majority of four upon the proxies. There were several proofs extant from letters written by friends to the measure, and decided foes to jacobitism, that the Union was very unpopular in Scotland. In 1715, when the earl of Mar took the field in the cause of the house of Stuart, he announced the design to restore the old constitution of Scotland, and a declaration was a few days after issued by a number of the principal persons on the same side, in which the Union was particularly reprobated as a grievance. Thus it was clear, that the friends of the Pretender considered Union unpopular, and thought that it would be favourable to their cause to encourage the hope of its repeal. The Pretender himself, on his landing, issued a proclamation in the same spirit to conciliate the support of the people, who viewed the Union as the extinction of their national independence, and the introduction of a foreign yoke.

From the whole history of these periods, it was evident that the effect of the Union had been unfavourable to the repose and tranquillity of the state. It was an additional subject of discontent to a people already labouring under many disadvantages of internal government and regulation, and till the real cause of the evil was removed, till the grievances were remedied, no progress was made towards establishment of tranquillity, and to the advancement of commerce and manufactures.

A wise and conciliatory system, he said, would tend more effectually to allay the distractions of the country, and dissipate the dangers, with which it was threatened from foreign or domestic enemies, than any attempt to incorporate its legislature with that of Great Britain. The Catholics, of whose pretensions so much had been said, might in his opinion be relieved from all remaining disabilities by a separate parliament, without the risque of the prevalence of their party.

If this projected Union should succeed, it would place at the disposal of the crown a number of abject instruments that might

be employed against the privileges of their fellow-subjects. "I rejoice," said the late earl of Chatham, "that the Americans have resisted; for three millions' of slaves in America would have been fit tools to overthrow the liberties of Britain." For the same reason he rejoiced, that the Irish had shewn a firm determination to preserve their constitutional rights and liberties; and he trusted, that ministers would not be able by undue means to triumph over their spirited opposition. He then moved an address to his majesty, praying him to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure should have been ascertained.

Mr. Johnstone in a maiden speech spoke strongly for an Union. Mr. Nicholl, though not accustomed to give his support to the statesman, who had planned the Union, spoke warmly in its favour. Sir Gregory Page Turner and major general Loftus* were also advocates for the measure. Dr. Lawrence opposed it as unjust and impolitic under the existing circumstances of Ireland; and Mr. Sheridan, on the supposition of a strong dissent of the Hibernian nation, deprecated the prosecution of a measure, which, if it should be carried into effect by corruption or violence, would become the fatal source of discontent and rebellion. That the Union had the general approbation and independent assent of the Irish nation, a number of addresses and declarations were mentioned as a proof; but where were these addresses? The addresses against it were easy to be found. Twenty-seven of the counties had openly declared against it; and with these would have united Antrim and Sligo, if martial law had not been proclaimed, and prevented the intended meetings. If the measure were thus to be carried, he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression, and must become the fatal source of new discontents and future rebellions; and the only standard round which the pride, the passions, and the prejudices of Irishmen would rally, would be that, which would lead them to the recovery of a constitution that would have been thus foully and oppressively wrested from them. No attempt had been made to deny the notorious fact, that sixty-five seats had been vacated to make places for men, whose obsequiousness would not permit them to oppose the measure; and it was equally notorious, that no art or influence which the policy of corruption and intima-

* This gentleman corrected what Mr. Grey had said relative to the introduction of military British officers into the Irish parliament: he instanced general Craddock and some others, who came into the Irish parliament upon independent grounds. Mr. Grey thanked him for the correction, and said he had chiefly in his eye general Lake, whom from a variety of circumstances, he thought little entitled to sit as an Irish legislator.

tion could put in play had been left untried, to gain over partizans to the Union. In this assertion every gentleman must acquiesce, who could consult his heart and his honour, and for a proof of it he would refer them to what had befallen sir John Parnell; his fate was no unimpressive warning to those, who might be tempted to follow his example. Thus was intimidation holden out every where, without room any where for the expression of a free will and unbiassed judgment. Martial law, spies, informers, &c. &c. were on all sides marshalled against the opposers of the Union; and it was only to be wondered how any set of men, under such a system of terror, could have dared so boldly and manfully to express their abhorrence of it.

Mr. Dundas would not admit that the Irish in general dissented from the scheme; but Mr. Tierney was convinced of their repugnance. Lord Carysfort affirmed, that the Unionists in the Irish parliament had a much greater extent of property than their adversaries, in the lords ten to one, and that the judging portion of the people approved the project. Mr. Pitt, however, indignantly scouted the idea of appealing to a community so influenced by factious leaders; he was satisfied with the constitutional assent of parliament.

Mr. Grey's motion having been supported only by 30, and negatived by 236, the three first articles were voted. On the succeeding day, the examination of the three next articles being postponed, the seventh was brought forward. Dr. Lawrence offered some ineffectual opposition. When the other articles, particularly those concerning the peerage and popular representation, were submitted to the committees in both houses, some warm debates arose upon them, but they comprised nothing new or peculiarly relevant to Ireland. The majorities upon each division were uniformly in the same proportion.

Lord Hawkesbury made a very able speech upon the general nature of our popular representation in parliament.

Lord Grenville, on the 28th of April, when the house was in a committee upon the fourth article, drew their attention to three points of difference, which would be found between the Irish and Scottish peers. The former, when chosen, would hold their seats till death, except the spiritual peers, who, if they should be deputed for life, would be too long absent from their sees. This permanence of the elected noblemen seemed better calculated than a temporary delegation to guard against the effects of undue influence and control. The second point was the eligibility of the peers of Ireland to a seat among the commons of the empire. A considerable number of those peers had so little property or influence in that country, as to have scarcely any chance of being deputed to a representation of the peerage; and the election of

such individuals as commoners would strengthen the connexion of classes, and constitute a desirable Union of feeling and interest between the houses of parliament. The third point, the eventual creation of new Irish peers, would be necessary for the prevention of too rapid a progress towards the extinction of the peerages.

Lord Mulgrave moved for the omission of that clause, which allowed the Hibernian peers to sit in the House of Commons for any of the shires and boroughs of Great Britain, with a proviso that they should cease to enjoy during that time the privileges of the peerage. Such a regulation, he said, would tend to break down the bulwark between the peers and the commons, and consequently the barrier between the crown and the people to introduce a confusion of ranks, and promote democratic disorder.

The chancellor defended the clause as reasonable and constitutional. Why, he asked, would it be more degrading for an Irish peer than for the eldest son of the first peer of this kingdom to be tried as a commoner ; and would it not be a great hardship for a number of the peers of Ireland to be deprived of the chance of becoming legislators ?

The earl of Caernarvon opposed the clause, because it seemed to have a jacobinical tendency ; and the earl of Darnley recommended, in this respect, an adherence to the stipulations of the Scottish Union.

Lord Mulgrave's motion for omitting a part of the article was negatived by 50 against 7.

On the 30th of April, a debate arose from a motion of lord Holland, tending to give the Catholics a pledge or prospect of the abolition of the disabilities, to which they were still subject both in Ireland and in Great Britain. In this country a regard to justice dictated such relief : in the other, it was not only a matter of justice, but was essential to public tranquillity, and would contribute to reconcile the minds of the majority of that people to the new project. Notwithstanding he considered the policy of the Union doubtful, and some of its provisions, particularly with regard to representation, alarming innovations, yet if he thought that the emancipation of the Catholics were to accompany the Union, it would soften much of his hostility to the project. If he himself then considered the restoration of the rights of the Catholics so strong a recommendation, what must be the feelings of those, who were so much more nearly interested in it ? It had been said, indeed, that it was not worth while to attempt reclaiming those, who were disaffected in Ireland. If any minister did not think it worth while by wise and liberal measures, to conciliate those who were disaffected, and to bring them back to their duty, such a minister would be unfit to be trusted with the con-

duct of public affairs: it was an object of the highest importance to strengthen his majesty's government by conciliating the affections of all his subjects. But it might be said it would be better to wait. He, on the contrary, thought that the present was the moment to remove all the doubts, which the Catholics might entertain, and to render them friendly to the measure, by shewing them candidly the advantages they would gain. It would thus tend to confirm those who hesitated in their opinion, and to reconcile those who might be hostile to the Union. It had been said, that the emancipation was a mere pretext employed to delude the people of Ireland; but its being successful as a pretext, was a proof of how much importance it was to take it away. In the late rebellion, which however he never would be induced to call a Catholic rebellion, so many would not have been led away by it, had not the restraints, under which the Catholics laboured been considered as grievances. It was a grievance to be estimated in its operation on men's minds; not by the injury it did, but by the insult which it supposed.

Lord Borranington thought the agitation of that question was unseasonable, and therefore moved the previous question.

The marquis of Landsdown did not disapprove the motion, though he differed from the mover on the subject of the Union. After a frequent and close deliberation, he was convinced of the wisdom and policy of the general measure, and thought it highly honourable to the projectors. The chief blemishes, he thought, were to be found in the confined mode of election for some of the boroughs; but these were specks in a brilliant sun.

Earl Fitzwilliam justified the motion as conciliatory and highly expedient: but lord Musgrave said, that, as the parliaments of both kingdoms had already agreed to the postponement of the Catholic question; which, they conceived, would be more temperately and wisely discussed after an Union, it was unnecessary and improper to prejudge the topic. Lord Hobart and the earl of Liverpool were for the previous question.

The earl of Moira declared that the objections, which he had urged to an Union were in a great measure superseded by the late determination of the Irish parliament; and he was ready to admit that the points of detail were founded, for the most part, on just and equitable principles. Apprehending that the present motion might obstruct the success of the scheme, he wished it to be withdrawn or discountenanced.

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the question would be best determined by the united parliament, and that the decision of that legislature, even if it should be erroneous, would be attended with much less inconvenience than a similar decision would

produce, if pronounced by the two parliaments under the present system.

The motion was then superseded by the previous question.

As the woollen-manufacturers of Great Britain were alarmed at the prospect of great loss and injury, if a free exportation of the raw material to Ireland should be allowed, petitions were presented to both houses against that part of the commercial article; and witnesses were examined at the bar in support of the allegations of the petitions. The minister notwithstanding, on the 1st of May, urged the committee to adopt the resolution, which was done accordingly.

Mr. Peele and Mr. Wilberforce spoke in favour of the petitions.

Mr. Pitt maintained, that, if any transfer of manufacture should result from the permission of exporting wool, it would be gradual and inconsiderable; that any void, which it might occasion, would be much more than filled up by the great increase of our trade in this article; that we had no reason to apprehend a scarcity of the commodity, or dread the rivalry of the Irish in the manufacture; and that his friend's proposal would be an unnecessary deviation from that liberal principle of a free intercourse, which was the intended basis of the Union.

When the report was brought up on the 2d of May, dr. Lawrence vehemently opposed it: but upon no new grounds.

The means of promoting the measure were not, in his opinion, the most laudable or constitutional; and the boasted majority did not include the most respectable portion of the parliament. A considerable number of those, who had voted for the scheme were palpably influenced by the crown; and the freedom of deliberation was checked by the presence of the army. He moved that the business should be postponed for three months.

Mr. Morrit rested his confidence of success on the happiness to both countries which followed the Union with Scotland.

The honourable Mr. Ryder admitted, that a complete or perfect Union could not at first be expected; but he did not consider this objection as a sufficient reason for desisting from an attempt, which might be in some degree successful; still did he think it prudent finally to relinquish it.

Mr. Banks was still of opinion, that the scheme would be inefficacious as a measure of Union, and particularly hazardous from the dissatisfaction with which it would be received by the Catholics, whose views of power it would ultimately disappoint, even though the imperial parliament might accede to their present claims.

Colonel Wood and sir Richard Car Glyn supported the general principle of the measure. Sir William Young contended that

delay would be dangerous, and that nothing but an Union would render the two countries permanently prosperous and happy. He did not believe, that the Irish Catholics were generally adverse to the Union. On the contrary, he stated, on the authority of one of themselves, lord Kenmare, a nobleman of the greatest virtue and patriotism, that the most respectable classes of them were inclined in its favour. Mr. Nicholl did not approve every part of the plan ; but, conceiving that it would enable the government to relieve the Catholics with safety, and that it would thus allay the bitterness of religious dissention, he was willing to promote its success.

The house then ordered the second reading of the reported resolutions : a division took place, in which 26 voted against it, and 208 for it.

On the 5th of May, the scheme was again debated in both houses. Lord Grenville was pleased to find, that only one class of manufacturers complained of the commercial article, and still more pleased to observe, that even their jealousy was ill-founded. The committee adopted the commercial clauses and the remaining regulations.

* Various motions were made in the House of Commons for the supposed improvement of the plan. Dr. Laurence moved for some alterations grounded on his former suggestions relative to the parliamentary article, which were negatived. Mr. Grey proposed clauses calculated to render the Irish members independent of the crown, and to reduce their number in case of a diminution of that of the British representatives. Sir William Dolben moved, that all new peers should entail a sufficient estate to secure the independence of their successors. Mr. Tierney wished for a re-commitment of the resolution respecting trade, that the woollen manufacturers of this country might receive an indulgence similar to that which would be granted to the cotton manufacturers of Ireland. All of which were negatived.

An address was voted on the same day, importing that the commons had observed with unspeakable satisfaction the general conformity of the articles transmitted from Ireland with those which they had voted in the preceding year, and that they were now ready to conclude with the Irish parliament an Union upon that foundation. This address was communicated to the peers ; and, after a comparison of the resolutions of one house with those of the other. On the 7th, the permission granted to Irish peers to represent British counties or boroughs was again debated. Lord Romney proposed that all who should thus degrade themselves should be obliged to wave for life the privileges of the peer-

* Coote's History of the Union, p. 490.

age. The earls of Caernarvon and Fife, and several other peers, opposed it, as tending to violate the constitution, and produce a confusion of rank and interests ; each question was carried by like majorities in favour of the ministry.

When it was moved, that the peers should join in the address, lord Bolton* spoke decidedly in favour of the Union. He entered fully into the merits of the propositions of 1785, against which, he said, the Irish had conceived an ill-founded prejudice. A similar prejudice existed against the present offers of Great Britain ; but he trusted that it would not prevent the accomplishment of a project, which would be advantageous to this country, and highly beneficial to Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam objected to several of the articles, and maintained that the plan tended to a separation rather than to an Union. Earl Camden and the marquis Townshend supported the Union. The Earl of Westmorland attributed the distractions of Ireland to the then existing system of government, or to the injudicious measures of administration, and was convinced that an Union was the only remedy for the evils under which she had long groaned. The earl of Darnley concurred with lord Westmorland. lord King and lord Holland maintained, that the measure was more likely to aggravate than cure the existing evils. The marquis of Downshire (lord Hillsborough in England) repeated many of the observations, which he had urged in the Irish House of lords against the measure. The marquis Townshend observed, that those persons who had opposed the octennial bill, were the very persons who opposed the measure of Union, and from the same motive ; because it would diminish their influence. The house divided on lord Grenville's motion, which was to insert the words *lords spiritual and temporal* in the blank space left in the address, communicated to their lordships by the commons ; when there appeared 54 for and 7 against the motion. On the 9th, the joint address was presented to his majesty. The plan was then transmitted to Ireland ; and each parliament proceeded to carry into effect the articles by a bill.

Although the Anti-unionists had been so constantly baffled, they persisted in disputing every inch of the ground. As a separate bill was thought necessary for regulating the election of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament, lord Castlereagh moved for leave, to introduce it before the general bill of Union. Having noticed the inclination, which the house had shewn to various modes of parliamentary representation, in preference to an uniform system, he stated the leading principles, on which the selection of cities and boroughs had been adjusted—namely, a re-

* Formerly Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord lieutenant in Ireland.

gard to property, and the consideration of political, commercial, and local knowledge ; and mentioned the produce of the taxes on hearths and on windows, and the number of houses for which hearth-money was no longer paid, as fair *criteria* of wealth and population. On these grounds he named the following towns : Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Newry, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Galway, Clonmell, Wexford, Armagh, Youghall, Bandon, Dundalk, Kinsale, Lisburne, Sligo, Catherlogh, Ennis, Dungarvan, Down-Patrick, Coleraine, Mallow, Athlone, New-Ross, Tralee, Cashel, Dungannon, Portarlinton, and Enniskillen. One member for each of these towns, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the University, and sixty-four representatives of counties, would, he thought, form the soundest collection of individuals, that could be charged with the concerns of a nation ; and Ireland might safely depend upon the wise and patriotic exertions of such legislators, incorporated with an assembly which had preserved the liberty and happiness, and therefore commanded the esteem and affection of the people of Great Britain.

The motion was opposed, as tending to pledge the house prematurely ; but it was carried by a majority of 55. In its progress the bill was warmly opposed : and the whole plan of Union was re-attacked. It passed the House of Commons on the 20th of May. This bill ordained, that if the king should authorize the present lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first imperial legislature, the sitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that parliament ; that the written names of the members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, should be put into a glass, and successively drawn out by the clerk of the crown ; and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn, should serve for the same place in the first united legislature ; and that, when a new parliament should be convoked, writs should be sent to the Irish counties, to the university, and to the cities and boroughs above specified, for the election of members in the usual mode, according to the number then adjusted. With reference to the peers, the act provided, that the primate of all Ireland should sit in the first session of the combined parliament, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, in the second, third, and fourth ; that the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Londonderry, should take the first turn ; the prelates of Raphoe, Limerick, and Dromore, should next sit ; those of Elphin, Down, and Waterford, should have the next turn ; those of Leighlin, Cloyne, and Cork, should follow ; then those of Killaloe, Kilmore, and

Clogher ; and lastly, those of Ossory, Killala, and Clonfert : that the same order should then recommence, and continue for ever ; and that, for the election of the twenty-eight temporal peers, each of the Irish nobility should prepare a list of twenty-eight of his brethren, and those who should have a majority of votes in such lists should be peers of parliament for life.

The resolutions which had been sent back from England, were referred by the commons to a private committee : a report was soon presented and examined ; and, when sir Lawrence Parsons had in vain moved for a consideration of the articles in a general committee, all the alterations were adopted by the commons, and afterwards by the peers.

The countervailing duties were then adjusted ; the resolutions were formed into a bill ; and lord Castlereagh, on the 21st of May, requested permission to produce it. Major Osborne, on this occasion, declared, that he would continue to oppose the Union as an unnecessary and pernicious measure : Mr. Holmes supported it, not only as salutary, but absolutely necessary for the security of Ireland. Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Ogle again assailed it. Mr. Ball spoke warmly, and with some personal acrimony, against the bill and its supporters. Mr. Latouche, Mr. Martin, and dr. Browne, declared their conviction of the beneficial tendency of the measure ; which, on the other hand, was severely reprobated by sir Lawrence Parsons and Mr. Goold. On a division, the motion for bringing in a bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was carried by 160 against 100. The bill was immediately presented, read *pro forma*, and ordered to be printed. On the 26th, it was again read ; and a motion for its commitment followed, which produced another warm though not very interesting debate. On the 26th of May, Mr. Grattan proposed a delay to the 1st of August, that it might be more fully examined, and that more correct documents might be procured, as foundations of the financial and commercial articles. He again discussed the principle of the measure. It was a breach of a solemn covenant, on whose basis the separate, reciprocal, and conjoint power of the countries relied ; an innovation promoted by the influence of martial law ; an unauthorized assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm ; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehensions, that popular discontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might result from its enforcement.

Lord Castlereagh defended the bill, and censured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. He derided the patriotism of

those who took every occasion of ulcerating the public mind, already too much enflamed : he defied, however, their incentives to treason, and had no doubt of the energy of government in defending the constitution against every attack.

Sir John Parnell indignantly repelled the imputation of any traitorous spirit in the Anti-unionists, and retorted on those who wished to subvert the constitution on pretence of an Union. A very heated debate ensued, in which Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Burrowes spoke against the Union, and Mr. May defended it. Mr. Grattan replied with asperity to the insinuations of lord Castlereagh, who rejoined with more moderation than he formerly had done.

Mr. Grattan's motion was supported by 87 and negatived by 124. After some further debating the countervailing duties were settled as they had been by the British parliament.

On the 5th of June, the bill of Union passed through the committee with few remarks, and with little alteration. At the next meeting, lord Corry moved a long address to his majesty against the completion of the bill.* Mr. Saurin seconded the motion, and repeated his objections to the Union, which he contended had not been answered or refuted. The attorney general answered. Mr. Egan, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Mr. Gould warmly supported the address, which was negatived by a majority of 58 ; there being 77 for, and 135 against it. The report was ordered to be read. An amendment proposed by Mr. O'Donel excited a flame in the house, and was withdrawn. The same member, on the 7th of June, moved the third reading of the bill for the 2d of January, when a warm debate followed.

Many of the Anti-unionists retired from the house, that they might not witness the division by which the bill should be carried. When, on the 9th, an address of both houses to the king, in confirmation of the countervailing duties was proposed, Mr. Dawson, lord Maxwell, and some other Anti-unionists declared, that as soon as the bill should become a law, they would give it that support to which it would be entitled by such enactment, but which it did not deserve by its intrinsic merits.

The bill was carried up to the House of Peers by lord Castlereagh, but the consideration of it was postponed. On its second reading, the earls of Farnham and Bellamont offered some clauses, which were negatived, and the bill was committed. It passed the committee without amendment, was reported in due form, and, after an uninteresting debate, was read a third time on the

* This address, which is generally attributed to the pen of Mr. Grattan, and was moved for by the Anti-unionists in nature of a protest to posterity, against the measure, is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXX.

13th of June.* A protest was entered by the duke of Leinster and the other dissenting peers.

No part of the plan now remained for the secretary to bring forward, but the scheme of compensation. This he plausibly ushered in upon a principle of justice: he proposed a grant of 1,260,000*l.* for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth, by the disfranchisement of 84 boroughs—at the rate of 15,000*l.* to each. Mr. Saurin, Mr. Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Dawson, maintained, that the grant of compensation to those who had no right to hold such a species of property, would be an insult to the public and an infringement of the constitution. Mr. Prendergast defended the proposition, alleging, that though such possessions might have been vicious in their origin, yet, from prescriptive usage, and from having been the subjects of contracts and family settlements, they could not be confiscated, without a breach of honour and propriety. In the House of Peers, this bill was chiefly opposed by the earl of Farnham; but it passed into law with little opposition in either house; the Anti-unionists having now given up the question as lost.†

Soon after the Union bill had passed through both houses of the Irish parliament, Mr. Pitt brought a bill in the same form into the British House of Commons. It proceeded through the usual stages, without occasioning any important debate; and was sent, on the 24th of June, to the peers. On the 30th, lord Grenville moved for its third reading, declaring, that he rose for that purpose with greater pleasure than he had ever felt before in making any proposition to their lordships. The marquis of Downshire merely said, that his opinion of the measure remained unaltered, and that he would therefore give the bill his decided negative. It passed without a division; and, on the 2d of July, it received the royal assent.‡

When a prorogation of the last separate parliament of Great Britain was ordered on the 29th of July, his majesty thus addressed the two houses on the subject of the grand work which had so laudably occupied their deliberations.

* 8 Lords' Journ. p. 463. The division was 41 against 14. The protest is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXXI.

† As so much heat and zeal attended this interesting contest throughout, it may be gratifying to the curious reader to see the list of those who voted on the opposite sides. A correct list is also given of the different writs, which issued in the last year of the Irish parliament, viz. in 1800, with a view to parliamentary arrangements in voting for the Union. (Vide Index to the Appendix of 19 Vol. of Com. Journ. Part II. and also a list of the Irish parliamentary annuitants.) All are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXXII.

‡ A copy of the act is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXXIII.

“ With peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps, which you have taken for effecting an entire Union between my kingdoms. This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign.”

It was the opinion of one of the Grecian sages, that no man ought to be pronounced happy before his death, or before it could be ascertained, whether his happiness would be durable ; and, in this point of view, the royal observation may be deemed premature, as the effect of the applauded scheme had not been tried for a moment ; but we hope, and have reason to expect, that the remark will be fully verified.

The royal assent was given in Ireland to the Union bill on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of these realms. The next day, the lord lieutenant put an end to the session, with an appropriate speech from the throne.*

* His lordship's speech was as follows :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ THE whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction, that I communicate to you by his majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance, which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

“ The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow subjects, but most afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.

“ You will regret with his majesty, the reverse which his majesty's allies have experienced on the Continent ; but his majesty is persuaded, that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct which will best provide for the honour, and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now by your wisdom been more closely and intimately combined.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I AM to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal supplies, which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year.

“ His majesty has also witnessed with pleasure, that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the Union, and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE the happiness to acquaint you, that the country in general has in a great measure returned to its former state of tranquillity. If in some districts, a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, those disorders, I

The example of the Scotch Union was followed by Ireland in the formation of their first quota of the imperial parliament. No new election was resorted to, but the most zealous supporters of the measure were, generally, rewarded with seats in the imperial legislature.* In consequence of the proclamations issued in Great Britain and Ireland for the purpose, a selection was made of the persons to represent the boroughs of Ireland in the imperial parliament.

At ten o'clock in the morning, the deputy clerk of the crown and hanaper attended in the place of meeting of the House of Commons, where several members of that house also attending, the names of such members as were to be ballotted were written upon slips of paper, and drawn from a glass placed upon the table.†

"believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated.

"The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, though much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe, but I trust that under the favour of Providence we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest.

"I am persuaded, that the great measure which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and to preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects. You will encourage and improve that just confidence, which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this arduous question. Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to insure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation.

"I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign on the anniversary of that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by Union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies may make, either to weaken it by division, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages, the fairest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects."

* Not one of the 28 peers who opposed the Union, was elected. Amongst the 100 commoners, some few of the Anti-unionists appear, such as Mr. Foster, sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, sir Lawrence Parsons, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, Mr. J. C. Beresford, lord Corry, &c.

† The following list will shew the result of the several resignations, and of the ballot. The names of the gentlemen in the second column, shew the pre-

On the 31st of December, 1800, his majesty entered the House of Peers, when the usher of the black rod was sent to desire the attendance of the commons.

Several members of the House of Commons appeared at the bar, preceded by the speaker, who addressed his majesty in a dignified and impressive speech. That part of it which related to Ireland was as follows:

“ These, Sire, the last proceedings of your parliament previous
 “ to the great era now on the point of commencing, are the indi-
 “ cation and result of that common interest and fellow-feeling
 “ with the people, by which it has ever been actuated, and which
 “ are the best safeguard of all that is most valuable in society.
 “ To that era your commons look forward with a confident ex-
 “ pectation, that the consolidated wisdom and authority of the
 “ legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, under the auspicious

sent sitting members; those in the third, their late colleagues:—when a drawing took place, the successful is in Italics.

PRESENT MEMBERS.

1 Trinity College	Hon. George Knox
2 Waterford, c.	<i>W. Congreve Alcock</i>
3 Limerick, c.	<i>Henry Deane Grady</i>
4 Belfast	Edward May
5 Drogheda	Edward Hardman
6 Carrickfergus	<i>Noah Dalway</i>
7 Newry	<i>John Moore</i>
8 Kilkenny, c.	<i>William Talbot</i>
9 London-Derry, cit.	Henry Alexander
10 Galway, town	St. George Daly
11 Clonmel	(Both members resigned)
12 Wexford, town	Francis Leigh
13 Youghal	<i>John Keane</i>
14 Bandon	<i>Sir B. Cbinney</i>
15 Armagh, city	<i>P. Duiganan</i>
16 Dundalk	(Both members resigned)
17 Kinsale	<i>William Rowley</i>
18 Lisburn	<i>George Hatton</i>
19 Sligo, town	Owen Wynne
20 Carlow	<i>Henry Prittie</i>
21 Ennis	J. O. Vandeleur
22 Dungarvan	Edward Lee
23 Downpatrick	<i>Closworthby Rowley</i>
24 Coleraine	Walter Jones
25 Mallow	John Longfield
26 Mallow	William Handcock
27 New Ross	Robert Leigh
28 Trawlee	<i>Arthur Moore</i>
29 Cashell	Richard Bagwell
30 Dungannon	Hon. John Knox
31 Portlinton	Frederick Trench
32 Enniskillen	Hon. A. C. Hamilton

LATE MEMBERS.

Arthur Browne, <i>resigned</i>
Robert S. Carewe
Charles Vereker
Richard Congreve, <i>resigned</i>
John Ball, <i>resigned</i>
Ezekiel D. Wilson
Isaac Corry
James Wemyss
Andrew Ferguson, <i>resigned</i>
George Ponsonby, <i>resigned</i>
R. Neville, <i>resigned</i>
Robert Uniacke
Hon. W. O'Callagan
Gerard Lake
S. C. Rowley
Stewart Bruce
W. Wynne, <i>resigned</i>
John Wolfe
Sir Edward O'Brien
J. B. Ponsonby
Jos. Rowley
James Beresford, <i>resigned</i>
Denh. Jephson, <i>resigned</i>
H. Handcock, <i>resigned</i>
C. Tottenham, <i>resigned</i>
Henry Kemmis
R. Penefather, <i>resigned</i>
James Verner, <i>resigned</i>
William Gregory, <i>resigned</i>
Lt. Col. G. Cole, <i>resigned</i>

“ government of your majesty, and your illustrious house, will
 “ diffuse, throughout every part of the united kingdom, the full
 “ benefits of that constitution which has been proved to be favour-
 “ able, in an unexampled degree, to the enjoyment of civil liber-
 “ ty and public prosperity ; which cannot therefore fail to ani-
 “ mate the zeal and determination of those who may share its
 “ blessings, to cherish and maintain it during their own times,
 “ and to transmit it as the best inheritance to their posterity.”

His majesty was then pleased to make the following most gracious speech from the throne to both houses of parliament :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I CANNOT suffer this session to close with-
 “ out particular acknowledgment for the distinguished industry
 “ and zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the inter-
 “ resting object, which, at the commencement of the session, I
 “ most especially recommended to your attention.

“ It has been my earnest wish, that nothing should be omit-
 “ ted which could tend to relieve the pressure occasioned by the
 “ present dearth of provisions, and to insure a sufficient supply
 “ till the produce of the next harvest can be brought into use.

“ The diligence with which your inquiries have been con-
 “ ducted, has afforded you the best means of ascertaining the true
 “ circumstances of our present situation ; and the extensive mea-
 “ sures which you have wisely adopted in consequence, for the
 “ diminishing the consumption of grain, and procuring an in-
 “ creased supply, will, I doubt not, be found productive of the
 “ most salutary effects.

“ Much, however, must depend on the disposition which will, I
 “ am confident, be manifested by all those who have the means
 “ of carrying into execution my solemn recommendation and in-
 “ junction, issued at your desire, for the adoption of all practi-
 “ cable economy in the use of those articles which are necessary
 “ to the subsistence of the poorer classes of my subjects.

“ The time fixed for the commencement of the Union of Great
 “ Britain and Ireland necessarily terminates your proceedings
 “ on this important subject ; but I am persuaded, that the con-
 “ sideration of it will be resumed with the same zeal and tem-
 “ per on the first meeting of the parliament of the united king-
 “ dom.

“ The early period I have appointed for that meeting will af-
 “ ford a speedy opportunity of completing whatever you may
 “ have necessarily left unfinished, and of considering what mea-
 “ sures may tend further to alleviate the pressure on my people,
 “ or to prevent the danger of its recurrence.”

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" THE detention of the property of my subjects
 " in the ports of Russia, contrary to the most solemn treaties,
 " and the imprisonment of British sailors in that country, have
 " excited in me sentiments, in which you and all my subjects
 " will, I am sure, participate.

" I have already taken such steps as this occasion indispensa-
 " bly required, and it will afford me great satisfaction if they prove
 " effectual. But if it should become necessary to maintain,
 " against any combination, the honour and independence of the
 " British empire, and those maritime rights and interests on
 " which both our prosperity and our security must always de-
 " pend, I entertain no doubt either of the success of those means,
 " which, in such an event, I shall be enabled to exert, or of the de-
 " termination of my parliament and my people to afford me a sup-
 " port proportioned to the importance of the interests which we
 " have to maintain."

Afterwards the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command,
 said,

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" IT is his majesty's command, that the procla-
 " mation, declaring his majesty's most gracious intention, should
 " be read to the members of the parliament of the united king-
 " dom of Great Britain and Ireland on the part of Great Britain,
 " and that the said parliament should be assembled on the 22d
 " day of January next, be delivered in full parliament, and now
 " read, which closes the present session."

And the said proclamation was read by the clerk at the table, as
 follows, viz.

" GEORGE R.

" WHEREAS, by the fourth article of the
 " articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same
 " are ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one
 " passed in the parliament of Great Britain, intituled, An Act
 " for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, to have force
 " and effect from the first day of January one thousand eight
 " hundred and one, it is provided, That if we, on or before the
 " said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on
 " which day the Union is to take place as aforesaid, should de-
 " clare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedi-
 " ent, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of
 " Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses
 " of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain
 " and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain: then the said lords
 " and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should
 " accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the

“ first parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: And whereas it is our intencion to appoint Thursday, the twenty-second day of January next ensuing, for the assembling of the parliament of the united kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom; we do judge it to be expedient, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: And we do, pursuant to the said articles of Union, and to the acts of parliament ratifying and confirming the same, hereby declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain are accordingly to be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the said lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons, are hereby required and commanded to take notice hereof, and to give their attendance accordingly, at Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of January next ensuing.

“ Given at our court at St. James’s, the fifth day of November, one thousand eight hundred, in the forty-first year of our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.”

Immediately after his majesty had left the house, he held a grand council, in which several arrangements required by that great event were settled. In honour of the Union many promotions were made, and several new titles created. And on the next day, viz. the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland was formally announced in the following proclamation.

“ GEORGE R.

“ WHEREAS by the first article of the articles of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the parliament of Ireland, and respectively intituled, ‘ An act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland,’ the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should upon this day, being the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, for ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the

“ united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, should be such as we, by our royal proclamation under the great seal of the said united kingdom, should appoint: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to appoint and declare, that our royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used as the same are set forth in manner and form following; that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the latin tongue, *Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*; and in the English tongue by these words, *George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith*. And the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom shall be quarterly, first and fourth England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; and it is our will and pleasure, that there shall be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany ensigned with the Electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleasure, that the standard of the united kingdom shall be the same quartering as are herein-before declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon hereinbefore described; and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses, saltires of St. Andrew, and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules; the latter imbricated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third, as the saltire. And our will and pleasure further is, that the style and titles aforesaid, and also the arms or ensigns armorial aforesaid, shall be used henceforth, as far as conveniently may be, on all occasions wherein our royal style and title, and arms or ensigns armorial, ought to be used. But, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Great Britain, and all such gold, silver and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority, with the like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the united kingdom in Great Britain; and that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Ireland, and also such gold and silver and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the said united kingdom in Ireland; and all such monies as shall have been coined for and issued in any of the dominions of the said united kingdom, and declared by our proclamation to be current and lawful money of such do-

“ minions respectively, bearing our style, or titles, or arms, or
 “ ensigns armorial, or any part or parts thereof, and all monies
 “ which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such
 “ proclamations, shall continue to be lawful and current money
 “ of such dominions respectively, notwithstanding such change in
 “ our style, titles, and arms, or armorial bearings respectively as
 “ aforesaid, until our pleasure shall be further declared thereup-
 “ on. And all and every such monies as aforesaid shall be re-
 “ ceived and taken in payment in Great Britain and Ireland re-
 “ spectively, and in the dominions thereunto belonging after the
 “ date of this our proclamation, in such manner, and of the like
 “ value and denomination as the same were received and taken
 “ before the date hereof. And it is also our will and pleasure,
 “ that the several dies and marks, which have been used to de-
 “ note the stamp duties, and all other stamps and marks and in-
 “ struments, which, before the issuing of this our proclamation,
 “ shall have been in actual use for any public purpose, and in which
 “ our royal style and titles, or our arms or ensigns armorial, or
 “ any parts or part thereof respectively, may be expressed, shall
 “ not, by reason of this or any other proclamation, or any thing
 “ therein contained, be changed or altered, until the same may be
 “ conveniently so changed or altered, or until our pleasure shall
 “ be further declared thereupon; but that all such dies, stamps,
 “ marks, and instruments respectively, bearing our royal style
 “ and titles, or arms or ensigns armorial, used before this first
 “ day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, or any
 “ parts or part of such style, titles, or such arms or ensigns ar-
 “ morial, shall have the like force and effect as the same had be-
 “ fore the said first day of January, instant.

“ Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January,
 “ one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year
 “ of our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.”*

Thus was accomplished the incorporate Union of Great Bri-
 tain and Ireland, an event dreaded by our enemies, and therefore
 to be cherished by every true and loyal subject of his majesty, as
 affording the sure means of conciliating the affections, consoli-
 dating the energies, and promoting the prosperity of every part
 of the British empire.

* On the same day was published another proclamation, declaring what
 ensigns and colours should be borne at sea, in merchants ships or vessels
 belonging to his majesty's subjects of the united kingdom, for which see
 Appendix, No. CXXIV.

APPENDIX.

No. CXII.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPELS DESTROYED OR DAMAGED DURING THE LATE REBELLION....PAGE 1.

<i>County of Wexford and Ferns.</i>		<i>County of Wexford and Ferns.</i>	
<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Boolevogue, Whitsunday,	27 May, 1798	Crossebegs	- 23 June
Maglus	- 30 ditto	Killenenrin	- 29 ditto
Arklow	- 9 June	Litter, damaged	29 ditto
Ramsgrange	- 19 ditto	Blackwater, ditto	29 ditto
Drumgold	- 21 ditto	Monageer	- 1 July
Ballymurria	- 22 ditto	Killely	- 1 Sept.
Anamoe	- 28 ditto	Adamstown, damaged	1 Sept. 1799
Gorey	- 4 Aug.	Gucrane	- Oct.
Crane	- 17 Sept.	Garnacuddy, damaged	do.
Rock	- 12 Oct.	Glanbryan	- 13 Mar. 1800
Ballyduffe	- 19 ditto	Ballinakesy	- 16 July
River	- 19 ditto	Camie	- 3 Sept.
Monaseed	- 25 ditto	Davidstown, damaged	Oct.
Clologne	- 26 ditto	<i>Arch-diocese Dublin, County Wicklow.</i>	
Ferns	- 18 Nov.	Arklow	- 9 June 1798
Oulart	- 28 ditto	Roundwood	- 26 ditto
Ballygarret	- 15 Jan. 1799	Anamoe	- 28 ditto
Ballynamonabeg	- 24 Feb.	Annacorra (Diocese Ferns)	2 Sept.
Murrtown	- 24 Apr.	Wicklow, damaged)	2 ditto
Monomolin	- 3 May	Kilpatrick	- 11 Oct.
Kilrush	- 15 ditto		
Marshalstown	- 7 June		

APPENDIX.

<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Ballinvolagh -	11 ditto	Rathloe -	Aug.
Killeveny (Diocese of Ferns)	11 Nov.	Newton, damaged	Mar. 1800
		<i>County Kildare.</i>	
Castletown -	ditto	Kildare, Diocese of Kildare	
Ashford -	25 Jan. 1799		4 June 1798
Glenaly -	Feb.	Castledermot, (Arch-diocese of Dublin)	28 Mar. 1799
Kilquiggan, on Easter Sunday (Diocese of Leighlin)	24 Mar.	Athy, ditto -	May
<i>County Wicklow, Arch-diocese of Dublin.</i>		<i>Queen's County, Diocese of Leighlin.</i>	
Johnstown -	20 Apr. 1799	Stradbally -	24 June 1798
Wicklow Abbey, residence of the Parish Priest	12 July	<i>County Diocese of Meath.</i>	
Kilmurry -	23 Aug.	Dunbayne -	26 May 1798
Newbridge, partly destroyed,	Nov. 1799	<i>County Cavan.</i>	
Maceredin, otherwise Curysfort	March 1800	Killeshandra, Diocese of Kilmore -	July 1800
<i>County of Kilkenny, Diocese of Ossory.</i>		Caolency, ditto -	ditto
Rosbercon, near New Ross	18 Dec. 1798	<i>King's County.</i>	
Corren, near Kilkenny,	4 July 1799	Shinrone, Diocese of Killaloe.	
Murkally, ditto -	ditto	<i>County Dublin.</i>	
Tullagher, near Rosbercon	Sept. 1800	Ballyboghil, Arch-diocese of Dublin, accidentally destroyed by soldiers before the rebellion.	
<i>County Carlow, Diocese of Leighlin.</i>		<i>County Cork.</i>	
Clonmore -	6 Mar. 1799	Kilbrogan, near Bandon, destroyed before the rebellion, or at the commencement of it, by Scotch soldiers.	
Hacketstown, on Easter-day	4 May		

In all sixty-nine chapels destroyed or damaged, of which fifty have been surveyed, and compensation allowed and paid by order of government, which has likewise ordered the others to be estimated....Dublin, 6th May, 1801, add the parish priest's house at Wicklow.

APPENDIX.

No. CXIII.

MR. HAY'S LETTER TO THE REV. MR. GORDON....P. 16.

REV. SIR,

AS you have publicly professed a wish to be informed of any involuntary errors contained in your history, when speculative opinions supply the place of fact, and are so prevalent, hearsay evidence, whether oral, manuscript, or printed, is to be received with the greatest caution, and the greatest superiority of ocular information to any other, induces me, from my personal knowledge of facts, to send you, along with my own opinion, auxiliary documents, that cannot fail to convince you that the introduction of my name into your history is not such as I am entitled to, and I hope your professions of liberality and candour may be realized in doing justice to my present communication. According to the plan contained in Mr. Byrne's circular letter, two persons deputed from each Catholic congregation in the county of Wexford, assembled at Enniscorthy, on the 29th of July, 1792, where they elected delegates to represent the county in the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland; I attended this meeting as a voter from the congregation I belong to, and had the honour of being elected one of the delegates for the county of Wexford, so that the intermediate step of baronials (which you mention in your history) had but a speculative existence, invented I do naturally suppose, for the purpose of assimilating the Catholic committee with the system of United Irishmen, a circumstance totally devoid of truth, as no kind of communication existed between them. In order that the meeting of the general committee should be publicly attended, proposals were made to hire the Rotunda and other public places, which could not be obtained. Such disappointment was the more conspicuous, as such refusal was not signified to many other applications of the same kind, so that no other place but the Taylor's-Hall, in Black-Lane, could be obtained, which precluded the possibility of being able to admit any but the delegates, as it was scarcely sufficient to contain them, and thus was the committee frustrated in having their assembly publicly attended. The first meeting of this general committee took place in December, 1792, for seven days only; which you mention to be many weeks; and the second and final meeting was for eight days, from the 16th of April, 1793, to the 25th only, meeting on Saturday the 20th, being in the Court of King's Bench, where

all the delegates attended to take the oaths of allegiance prescribed in the late act of parliament, and this meeting ended in dissolution. The collections made by the Catholics of Ireland to defray the necessary expences attendant on the pursuit of their emancipation were voluntary subscriptions, not in any degree assessments, as it is evident, that the entreaties of the sub-committee (by no means orders) were not attended to, as two-thirds of the counties of Ireland never produced one farthing. I paid the collection of the county of Wexford to the treasurer in 1792, and no second collection ever was made there. The statue of the king could not be erected, although voted by Catholic gratitude, which along with other honourable engagements of the committee, were superseded by the illiberality of the general and calumnious outcry raised at the time against our collections. The petition of the Catholics of Ireland, presented to the king on the 2d January, 1798, might be supposed to escape animadversion, when his majesty was graciously pleased to signify his strongest approbation in his recommendation to the parliament of Ireland, who in consequence repealed the greater part of the penal statutes against Catholics. The late Earl of Clare did assert, as you have done in your history, that the Catholic petition was surprisingly fraught with misrepresentation. On this assertion being so publicly made, the petition was reprinted, reciting the statutes, on which the allegations were grounded, prepared by the honourable Simon Butler, whose reputation as a lawyer, the chancellor was too well aware of to attempt to expose his error again, and gave up the point; so that I imagine this public document will be equally convincing to you, as I send it to you along with all the proceedings of the Catholic committee relating to this event, for your perusal, as I should wish your avowal to proceed from the most perfect information on the subject. Although I profess the Roman Catholic religion, I should not be of that communion one single hour were their tenets, as they are represented, through that baneful prejudice so prevalent in Ireland, that proves such an effectual drawback to the otherwise infallible prosperity of the country, and I cannot sufficiently lament to see so industriously circulated, as it only serves to keep alive those prejudices that all liberal men see through and reprobate as a pest to society. A sloop had been fitted out by the insurgents, but twice condemned as totally unfit for that service, was hauled on one side in the harbour, where she sunk within a foot of her deck, and remained in that situation for a month, when she was pumped out, and I was on the same day, without trial or inquiry, sent on board along with those that had been tried, and sentenced to transportation. The wet straw was left in the hold, and a little dry straw shook over it, which our walking on soon made as bad as

the rest, so that it was not possible to sit or lie down without imbibing the wet, nor could we even have the satisfaction of resting against the sides of the ship, as the planks were water soaked, and the effervescence of the putrid malt so strong as to turn money black in our pockets in the course of a few hours; we had also a profusion of rats, that bit some of the prisoners. My health has been greatly impaired by five weeks confinement on board this sloop, and I fear it may never be perfectly re-established. I should detain you too long was I to enumerate the various hardships I have endured during a period of thirteen months that I was confined, which I was at last released from by an honourable acquittal, at the summer assizes in Wexford, 1799, independent of the amnesty bill, whereas my persecutors could be punished by the fundamental laws of the constitution, had they not the indemnity bills to screen their base and tyrannical conduct toward me. I have confined myself merely to the facts stated in your history, in which I have been an eye witness, and in some degree concerned, so that it precludes the possibility of cavilling or contradiction, and hope you may be kind enough to set them in their proper colours. I request the favour of your answer, as I am anxious to learn your determination on a subject you have hitherto been so much misinformed, as I do not mean to let such a misrepresentation pass unrefuted, to posterity, I am therefore anxious to learn your answer, and have the honour to be, with great respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Dublin, 6th July, 1802.

EDWARD HAY.

No. CXIV.

(PAGE 17.)

At a meeting of the General and several Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Resolutions were agreed upon:

RESOLVED, that the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if

any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and order that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose, and all such persons found to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court martial, appointed and chosen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, That all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement; and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding in such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters, when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons, who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head quarters, otherwise for any horse that shall be found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, that person shall on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person, who shall take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

By order of B. B. HARVEY, commander in Chief,

*Head-quarters, Carrick-
Burne Camp, June 6, 1798.*

FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

A proclamation of similar tendency was issued at Wexford on the 17th, addressed to the insurgent armies by General Edward Roche, conceived in the following words:

To the People of Ireland.

COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW SOLDIERS!

YOUR patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head, thousands daily flock to her standard, the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have already won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be changed.

At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders; but what power can resist men fighting for liberty?

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty; many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle; most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you; neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish House of Lords on the 19th of February last; you will there see a patriotic and enlightened Protestant bishop (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow-couriers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object: we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my Protestant soldiers I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

EDWARD ROCHE.

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

APPENDIX.

No. CXIV.

[PAGE 30.]

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST DR. CAULFIELD AND THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF WEXFORD.

SIR Richard Musgrave, in a pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Reply of the Rev. Doctor Caulfield, and of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Wexford*, has lately published a copy of an affidavit without any date, supposed to have been made by one Higginbottom, with a view to criminate the Catholic bishop of Ferns and his clergy, to the following effect, viz.

John Higginbottom sweareth on the Holy Evangelists, that he was a prisoner with the rebels in Gorey, the day of the battle of Arklow; that he was bailed out by Furlong, D'Arcy, and Rossiter, of Gorey, and thereby permitted to be a prisoner at large; that he went with Rossiter into D'Arcy's, a public house, and into a room where they sat to drink, and shortly after, Kavanagh and Synnott, priests, and two other rebels, came in to them; that, after some time, Synnott said, Murphy had but seven men when he began the business, and now you see what it has come to; he then took out a letter and shewed it to Redmond, saying, you may read that, and see how long I have been concerned in this business; and though I stood against it as long as I could, you may see, in that letter, how I was compelled by my bishop to it: some time after, while the battle raged and could be heard, he said, there are some people now lashed round hell with an iron flail.

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM.

Sworn before me, PETER BROWNE.

I certify, that the above affidavit was made before me, and that I know Higginbottom well, and believe him to be well worthy of credit.

PETER BROWNE, Dean of Ferns.

Too many persons are attempted to be traduced and criminated by the publication of the above affidavit, not to set the public right upon the fact. The prurient lust for falsehood in some authors is as unbounded as it is incomprehensible. The following declaration of Mr. Synnott is submitted to the reader, with some affidavits of respectable persons in refutation of that of Higginbottom.

I, John Synnott, parish priest of Gorey, mentioned, or supposed to be mentioned, in a form of affidavit, said to have been made by John Higginbottom, and published in a pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Reply of the Right Rev. Doctor Caulfield, &c. Dublin, printed by Marchbank, 1802*, and supposed to be written by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. feeling myself criminally and falsely charged therein, deem it a duty to the public and myself to do away, so far as in me lies, the unfavourable impression which the mistatements of the publisher are calculated to make to the prejudice of my bishop and of the Roman Catholic ministry in general, do make the following solemn declaration:

In the awful presence of Almighty God, the sovereign judge of the living and the dead, I do solemnly declare, that I was not in Gorey during the battle of Arklow; that I was not in D'Arcy's house on that day; and that I did not see the deponent, John Higginbottom, during the battle of Arklow, or on that whole day; that I did not any where take out or shew Redmond the letter referred to in the said affidavit, setting forth how long I was concerned in the business (rebellion), and that though I stood against it as long as I could, I was compelled by the bishop to it; that I never expressed or used such words, or others of similar tendency attributed to me; nor these....*there are some people now lashed round hell with an iron flail*, words which I never heard of until I read them in the alleged affidavit of Higginbottom. I also declare in same manner, that I could not shew any letter of the import alluded to above, because I never received from my bishop, Right Rev. Doctor Caulfield, any letter, tending to sedition, turbulence, or rebellion; on the contrary, I received several letters from him, in the course of the year, before the rebellion, and in the beginning of that very year until he was called to Dublin, directing and ordering me and the other clergy of the district, to use our utmost endeavours to impress on our flocks respectively the sinfulness of unlawful oaths, of all combinations or conspiracies, and unlawful meetings, tending to sedition, turbulence, or disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, and that such had been the Doctor's constant theme whenever he personally met his clergy, uniformly on such occasions, and by circular letters, declaring that any Roman Catholic, who did not conduct himself conformably to these instructions, was absolutely disqualified, and could not be admitted to sacraments; that loyalty to our king, and submission to his government, were indispensable Christian duties, and that no one can be a good Christian, who is not a good subject.

How or why that supposed affidavit without date, has not made its appearance in public till this late period, is not easily accounted for, or how it could have so long eluded the diligence of the compiler of the memoirs: but let the candid public compare it with what I have now truly set forth, (which I am ready to declare on oath in any court) and with the following affidavits made by the very men stated to have been present, when the subject matter of Higginbottom's affidavit occurred, and let them or any man of common sense judge of its authenticity, and how far it tends to criminate the conduct of Dr. Caulfield, and Reverend Father Kavanagh, so often mentioned in those memoirs, published by Sir Richard Musgrave.

JOHN SYNNOTT, P. P.

Gorey, 4th Nov. 1802.

I. Matthew D'Arcy, late of Gorey, sweareth on the Holy Evangelists, that he lived in Gorey the day of the battle of Arklow; that he remembers John Higginbottom to have been in his house that day in company with John Rossiter, of Gorey, has no recollection of Rev. John Synnott, or Rev. Francis Kavanagh, to have been in his house, or in Higginbottom's company on that day; and positively denies to have not seen or heard any thing of the letter spoken of in Higginbottom's affidavit; and further saith, that his affidavit is made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford.

MATTHEW D'ARCY,

HUGH TREVOR.

Dublin, June 15th, 1802.

II. John Redmond, late of Kilkavin, in the county of Wexford, maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, that the Rev. John Synnott never shewed him any such letter from his bishop, nor ever used any such expressions in his hearing, as stated in John Higginbottom's affidavit, and that he, John Redmond, was as far distant from Gorey as Kilkavin, which is three miles, from the commencement of the battle of Arklow until the day following; and further saith, that this affidavit is made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford. Sworn before me this 15th day of June, 1802.

JOHN REDMOND.

HUGH TREVOR.

III. *County of Wexford to Wit....* The Rev. Patrick Stafford, of Clonsilla, in said county, priest, came before me one of the justices of the peace for said county, and made his voluntary oath

on the Holy Evangelists, that on the day of the battle of Arklow, the Rev. John Synnott, P. P. was in company with him; and that during the continuance of the battle they were not in Gorey, or within a mile of it; and further saith, that this affidavit is made at the request of said John Synnott. Sworn before me 18th June, 1802.

PATRICK STAFFORD.

ANNESLEY BROWNRIGG.

IV. *County of Wexford to Wit....* John Rosseter, of Gorey, saddler of said county, came before me one of the justices of the peace for said county, and made his voluntary oath on the Holy Evangelists, and saith, that on the battle day of Arklow, in the late rebellion, he did not see the Rev. John Synnott, the Rev. Francis Kavanagh, or John Redmond of Kilkavin, at Matthew D'Arcey's, or any other house in Gorey, or any other place on said day; and further, he had never seen the Rev. John Synnott hand a letter to John Redmond, or say he had any orders from his bishop, or any other person to act in that business; and further declare, that he never used such expressions in his hearing as is stated in John Higginbottom's affidavit.

Sworn before me this 19th day of June, 1802. This affidavit was made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott.

JOHN ROSSETER.

JAMES WHITE.

No. CXVI. a.

A LIST OF THE MEMBERS WHO VOTED AGAINST AND FOR AN UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN, ON THE 24TH OF JANUARY, 1799....PAGE 33 AND 138.

The following gentlemen voted against the Union.

Hon. A. Acheson (1)	Jonah Barrington	Lord Cole (1)
W. C. Alcock	J. C. Beresford	Hon. Col. Cole
M. Archdall (1)	Arthur Browne	George Crookshank
David Babington	Wm. Burton (1)	Hon. J. Creighton
John Bagwell (1)	Robert Crowe	Hon. A. Creighton
William Bagwell	Lord Visc. Corry (1)	Jos. Ed. Cooper (1)
John Ball	Lord Clements (1)	Henry Coddington

James Cane	Hon. G. Knox	Richard Power (1)
Lord Caulfield (1)	Francis Knox	Sir L. Parsons (1)
D. B. Daly (1)	John Latouche (1)	(3)
Richard Dawson	John Latouche, jun.	W. C. Plunket
Arthur Dawson	Robert Latouche	William Ruxton
Francis Dobbs	Dav. Latouche, jun.	Abel Ram (1)
Rich. F. Edgeworth	C. P. Leslie (1)	Gust. Rochford (1)
John Egan	Edward Lee	John S. Rochford
George Evans	Sir Thos. Leighton	Sir W. Richardson
Sir John Freke, Bt.	A. Montgomery (1)	Fr. Saunderson (1)
Fred. J. Falkiner (1)	Sir John M'Cartney	W. Smyth, Westm.
Rt. Hon. J. Fitzge-	Col. John Maxwell	(1)
rald	Wm. Thos. Monsell	James Stewart (1)
W. C. Fortesuce (1)	Arthur Moore	Henry Stewart (2)
Hon. Thos. Foster	Lord Matthew (1)	Sir R. St. George
Arthur French (1)	John Metge	Hon. B. Stratford
William Gore	Richard Neville	Hon. Barry St. Le-
Han Gorges (1)	Thos. Newenham	ger
Hans Hamilton (1)	Chas. O'Hara (1)	Nathaniel Sneyd
William Handcock	Henry Osborne	H. W. J. Skeffington
Edward Hardman	Sir Ed. O'Brien	Thomas Stannus
Francis Hardy	Hon. W. O'Callag-	Fr. Savage (1) (2)
Sir Jos. Hoare	han (2)	William Tighe
Alex. Hamilton	Hugh O'Donnel	Henry Tighe
Hon. A. C. Hamil-	Jas. M. O'Donnel	Hon. R. Trench (1)
ton	Rt. Hon. G. Ogle	John Taylor
Sir Francis Hopkins	Rt. Hon. Wm. Bra-	Hon. R. Taylor (2)
Gilbert King	bazon Ponsonby	Thomas Townsend
Charles King	(1)	Charles Vereker
Hon. Robert King	George Ponsonby	Owen Wynne
Rt. Hon. H. King	Maj. W. Ponsonby	John Waller (1)
John King (2)	John Preston	E. D. Wilson
Lord Visc. Kings-	Joseph Preston	
borough (1)	Sir John Parnel (1)	[111]

The following are those who voted for an Union.

R. Alexander	J. H. Blake (1)	Thomas Burgh
H. Alexander	W. Blakeney	Lord Castlereagh (1)
R. Amesley	Sir J. Blaquiére	Sir H. Cavendish
R. Archdall	Anthony Botel	George Cavendish
William Barley	James Boyd	Broderick Chinnery
Rt. Hon. J. Beres-	Lord Boyle (1)	Rt. Hon. T. Conol-
ford (1) (2)	Rt. Hon. D. Browne	ly (1)
J. Beresford, jun.	(1)	E. Cooke
Marcus Beresford	Stewart Bruce	C. H. Coote (1)
J. Bingham	George Burdett	R. Cornwall

Rt. Hon. J. Corry	Theo. Jones	W. Odell (1)
Sir J. Cotter	John Keane	C. M. Ormsby
R. Cotter	James Kearney	Charles Osborn
W. A. Crosbie	Henry Kemmis	T. Pakenham
St. George Daly	William Knott	Frederick Trench
William Elliot	Andrew Knox	Sir Boyle Roche
General Eustace	James Knox	R. Rutledge
Lord Chas. Fitzge- rald	Sir H. Langrishe (2)	Sir George Shee
A. Ferguson	Thos. Lindsay, sen.	H. Skeffington
Maurice Fitzgerald	Thos. Lindsay, jun.	William Smith
R. U. Fitzgerald (1)	M. Longfield	Henry M. Sandford
(3)	John Longfield	Edmond Stanley
Hon. W. Forward	Capt. J. Longfield	John Staples (1)
Sir C. Fortescue	Francis M'Namara	John Stewart
J. Galbraith	Ross Mahon	John Stratton
H. D. Grady	Richard Martin	Charles Tottenham
Richard Hare	Rt. Hon. J. M. Ma- son	Rt. Hon. J. Toler
F. Hare	H. Dillon Massey	J. Townsend
Hugh Howard	James M'Cleland	Lord Tyrone (3)
Col. B. Henniker	E. A. M'Naghten	R. Uniacke
Peter Holmes	Lorenzo Moor	J. O. Vandeleur
Hon. F. Hutchinson	Stephen Moor	James Verner
Hon. J. Hutchinson	Right Hon. Lodge	Lieut. Col. Wemyss
Col. G. Jackson (1)	Morres	Henry Westenra
Denham Jephson	Sir Rich. Musgrave	Thomas Whaley
Hon. John Jocelyn	Thomas Nesbit	Ben. B. Woodward
Robert Johnson	Sir W. Newcomen	W. Yelverton
Walter Jones	(1)	[106]

Thus marked (1), country members.

Thus marked (2), absent on the first day.

Thus marked (3), tellers the first day.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM DR. CAULFIELD TO JAMES
BOYD, ESQ.

SIR,

WITH equal surprise and concern I have lately been told, that it is whispered about, you have many grievous charges against me as many as would hang fifty men. If this report be founded in truth, conscious innocence presses me to request, and I expect from your candour, that you will have the goodness to let me know it; for I do not, nor will I skulk, or fly from justice, or the laws. I shall be here, or in the neighbourhood, openly and ready to answer any legal or fair call: I hope

you will believe me, when I assure you, that I shall by many degrees prefer innocent death to inglorious and wounded honour.

That I have been foully calumniated, and most grossly insulted, is too notorious; and that I bore it in all meekness and patience is not less so; nor is it a secret, though since overlooked, that during the horrid rebellion in Wexford, I did every thing in my power to serve and save my Protestant neighbours and their property; and if I did not more, it was unfortunate for them and painful for me, that I could not effect it, being myself in constant terror for my life. The fabrications and false tales of the ignorant I can, I thank God, despise; but charges of treason or felony are too much for a Christian innocent man to bear.

This consideration, I hope, will make my apology for giving you this trouble; humbly requesting you will inform me how I stand in that respect.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

SIR,

Your most humble

And most obedient servant,

Baltimore, May 11, 1800.

JAMES CAULFIELD.

No. CXVII.

RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOUR OF MR. FOSTER.....P. 175.

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Louth, held at Dundalk, on Monday, January the 14th, 1799, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

JOHN M'CCLINTOCK, Esq. jun. High Sheriff in the chair.

Resolved, That it is the duty as well as the right of the freeholders and burgesses of Ireland to express their sentiments on the subject of a Union.

Resolved, That our representatives were not empowered at their election to surrender the constitutional privileges of their constituents.

Resolved, That the rapid improvement of this kingdom since the date of her legislative independence, clearly evinces that an independent Irish legislature is as necessary as British connection to the prosperity of Ireland.

Resolved, That an Union would not only deprive us of many of our dearest rights, but render the enjoyment of the remainder precarious and uncertain, and would for ever destroy the security that Ireland now possesses, for their continuance.

Resolved, That it is impolitic and unwise to agitate, at this time, a question that may lead to a recurrence to first principles.

Resolved, That firmly attached as we are to British connection, we do totally disapprove of a plan of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, That these our sentiments be communicated to our representatives, in whose attachment to the constitution and true interests of Ireland we have the most firm reliance.

The high sheriff having left the chair, and Mr. Balfour having taken it, it was resolved,

That our thanks be given to our worthy high sheriff, for his readiness to convene the county, and his proper conduct in the chair.

To the Electors of the County of Louth.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your sentiments, and it is a great satisfaction to me, to find my own opinion strengthened by your explicit declaration, that an Irish independent legislature is as necessary as British connection to the prosperity of Ireland.

The House of Commons have said so in strong language, when they stated to his majesty in 1782, that the very essence of our liberties exists in the right of a sole legislature, the parliament of Ireland, a right which they then claimed on the part of all the people as their birthright, and which they declared to his majesty they could not yield but with their lives.

I joined in that statement, and we were afterwards told from the throne, that both countries had pledged their good faith to each other, that their best security would be an inviolable adherence to that compact; and we were desired to convince the people, that the two kingdoms were then one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution, and unity of interest.

Nothing then remains to strengthen our union. We have adhered to that compact, so has Great Britain; and we have risen to prosperity with a rapidness beyond example since it was made. I see no concern either of imperial concern or local necessity, which can justify our attempting a change, much less such a change as would annihilate that birthright, by the confirmation of which our trade and manufactures felt a security that immediately roused a happy spirit of exertion, the surrender of which would not only make the employment of those exertions precarious, but would equally take away all security of perma-

nence from every advantage, which any persons might be ignorantly deluded into a hope of from the projected measure of a legislative Union. In truth, I see much danger, and a probable decrease to our trade and manufactures from the measure, and I cannot conceive any one advantage to them from it.

If the linen manufacture rests at all on any compact, that compact was made with the Irish parliament, the extinction of which takes a way a security we have found adequate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural guardians, who by their vigilance, their regulations and their bounties, have more than doubled its export within a few years past.

As an Irishman then, I should oppose the measure, and as a member of the empire, I should not be less averse to it; for the innovation it would make in the constitution of Great Britain, with whom we must stand or fall, may so endanger that constitution, as in the end to overturn it, and with it the whole of the empire.

Nor can I look at the circumstances of the times without depreciating its being proposed, when the French proceedings teach us the danger of innovating on the established constitution, and, when it must be peculiarly alarming to Ireland, scarcely rested from a cruel and unprovoked rebellion, to have the public mind again agitated by an unnecessary, unprovoked, and unsolicited project. These are my sentiments.

The entire confidence you repose in my attachment to the constitution, and the true interests of Ireland, call upon me to state them fully to you. You shall not find that confidence misplaced. I shall oppose the measure, and I remain, with the most perfect esteem and affection,

Your very obliged and
faithful humble servant,
JOHN FOSTER.

Collon, January 15th, 1799.

To the Electors of the County of Louth.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your address, and return you my thanks for the confidence you have placed in me.

I entirely agree with you, that an independent Irish legislature is as necessary as British connection to the prosperity of Ireland, and that it is impolitic at present to agitate a question of legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM CHARLES FORTESCUE.

Ravensdale Park, January 15th, 1799.

CITY OF DUBLIN.

At a general assembly of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th of January, 1799, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

Resolved, That by the exertions of the people and parliament of this kingdom, the trade and constitution thereof were settled on principles so liberal, that the nation has risen ever since rapidly in wealth and consequence.

Resolved, That having boldly defended the constitution in king, lords, and commons, against the open secret and abettors of rebellion, we are determined steadily to oppose any attempt that may be made to surrender the free legislation of this kingdom, by uniting it with the legislature of Great Britain.

Resolved, That viewing the measure of an Union with Great Britain as one fraught with the most fatal consequences to this kingdom, tending to annihilate the constitution thereof, any person bringing forward such a proposition, would in our opinion be an enemy to the king's government in this country by endangering the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

Resolved, That it is our duty and our determination to support inviolably the prerogatives of the crown, as well as the privileges of the people.

Resolved, That any minister who shall advise his majesty, by the exercise of any of his prerogatives, to influence or deter any member of the legislature from the free use of his judgment in parliament, will thereby commit a high crime against the honour and dignity of the crown, the independence of the parliament, and the constitution of the realm.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

Be it remembered, that at a general assembly of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th day of January, 1799 it was resolved unanimously, that the following address be presented to the Right Honourable John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland.

The Address of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of Dublin, in Common Council assembled.

SIR,

AMIDST the terror which the threatened invasion of our liberties, and our fortunes, and our commerce have spread

around, the hearts of Irishmen, though sickened with disgust, and influenced with indignation, are yet strangers to despair. From those talents and that virtue, in which she has often found relief, your country again demands protection. Suffer not a nation, to which you have heretofore been a shield, to expire without an effort to save her. Come forward with all that animated zeal for the welfare of the empire, with that affectionate attachment to British connection, with that ardent love for Ireland, and that parental care of her commercial and constitutional rights, by which you have been ever distinguished. Bring with you that penetrating judgment and capacious wisdom, that commanding eloquence and bold integrity, with which you have hitherto supported those dear but valuable interests. Demonstrate to the world, that the assertions of our enemies are not motives, but pretexts; that their arguments are idle and delusive; that while they affect to promote the trade and agriculture of Ireland, to secure our alliance with Britain, and to invigorate the energies of the empire, they are proceeding wickedly and wantonly to undermine them all.

In testimony whereof the common seal of said city is hereunto affixed, the day and year aforesaid.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, board of Aldermen, Town Clerks, High Sheriff, and Corporation at large, having waited on the Right Honourable the Speaker with said address, he was pleased to return the following answer:

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

TO be so honoured by the city of Dublin, which has ever been eminently conspicuous for its loyalty, its attachment to our constitution, and its watchful vigilance over all our rights and interests, fills me with sentiments of gratitude and honest pride, which you can more readily conceive than I can express. Accept my grateful and cordial thanks, and be sure of my zealous perseverance in the conduct you approve.

You have very justly joined a zeal for the empire and attachment to British connection with an ardent love for Ireland. No man can be a sound friend to Ireland, who does not feel that zeal and that attachment, nor can he ever be an efficient friend, if he does not in every public measure hold them in his view, and make them the rule of his conduct.

Since the constitution of this kingdom was settled, by its right to a sole, separate, and exclusive legislation, being unequivocally confirmed, we have seen its prosperity rising rapidly, yet steadily, its resources increasing for the support of the empire, and those resources liberally and effectually applied. We have seen, and still see mutual acts of kindness between the two kingdoms strengthening their connection, and any commercial jealousies

that ever existed happily subsiding. Inseparably united under the same executive power, which is equally a branch of the legislature of each kingdom, our Union is complete to every beneficial purpose, and the project in contemplation deserves not the name of Union. In my soul, I think it is fraught with possible consequences, certainly not foreseen by those who bring it forward, that will tend, if not to actual separation, to attempts at least to separate us from Great Britain, to our utter ruin and to the subversion of the British empire, now the most happy and glorious on the face of the earth.

I am, my Lord and Gentlemen,

With the utmost respect, gratitude, and veneration,

Your very obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN FOSTER.

Ordered, That said address and answer be published,

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

No. CXVIII.

ADDRESSES OF ROMAN CATHOLICS UPON THE UNION....P. 235.

CITY OF WATERFORD.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, held at the Great Chapel, on the 28th of June, 1799,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Esq. in the Chair,

The following five gentlemen were appointed a committee, to prepare a declaration on the measure of a legislative Union:

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hearn,

Thomas Sherlock, Esq.

Edward Sheil, Esq.

Jeremiah Ryan, Esq.

Thomas Hearn, Esq. M. D.

Resolved, That the following declaration be adopted.

THE measure of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland having been recommended to the consideration of both of his parliaments by our most gracious sovereign, the common father of his people, we, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, have thought it incumbent on us to make this public avowal of our sentiments on the important and interesting occasion.

We are firmly convinced, that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles and on a sense of mutual interests and affection, is a measure of wisdom and expediency for this kingdom, and will effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both ; and we trust it will afford the surest means of allaying those unhappy distractions and removing those penal exclusions on the score of religion, which have too long prevailed in this country, and by consolidating the resources of both kingdoms oppose the most effectual resistance to the destructive projects of both foreign and domestic enemies.

Strongly impressed with these sentiments, we look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when the two sister nations may be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

Resolved unanimously, That Lord Viscount Donoughmore, the sincere and attached friend of the Catholic interest, be requested to communicate these our sentiments most respectfully to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Sherlock, Esq. for his public and spirited exertions in promoting this our declaration, and that he be requested to hand it to Lord Viscount Donoughmore.

Signed, by order,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Chairman.

[Signed by 280 subscribers.]

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, 16th July, 1799.

I AM directed by my lord lieutenant to request your lordship will have the goodness to express to the Roman Catholics of Waterford, the satisfaction his excellency feels, from their declaration of the 28th of June, which they desired your lordship to lay before him, and which is so respectably signed.

The measure of a legislative Union upon just and liberal principles between this kingdom and Great Britain is near his excellency's heart; he is convinced, that nothing will so effectually tend to bury the religious animosities in oblivion, which have unhappily prevailed in this kingdom, to conciliate the affections of all his majesty's subjects to the mild government under which they live, to encrease the happiness and prosperity

of Ireland, and to augment the power and stability of the British empire.

I have the honour to be,
With the truest esteem and regard,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant;

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Viscount Donoughmore.

Rathfarnham Castle, Nov. 5th, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

THE Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its neighbourhood having requested of me, through Dr. Caulfield, to present a dutiful and loyal address from them to his excellency the lord lieutenant, I feel great satisfaction in complying with their desire, and from the signature I have every reliance on the sincerity of their professions; I therefore beg of you, to lay it before his excellency with my humble respects.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
ELY.

To Lieut. Col. Littlehales.

AT a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its vicinity, in the Chapel of Wexford, on Sunday the 22d of September, 1799,

Reverend Dr. Caulfield in the Chair.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis CORNWALLIS, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

HOWEVER depraved or ungrateful some of our communion in this country may have been, when acting under that fatal impulse of temporary madness and delusion, which unfortunately prevailed in this kingdom last year, we humbly presume to approach your excellency with our unfeigned assurance of perpetual loyalty and decided attachment to the royal person, family, and government of our beloved and most gracious sovereign, whose paternal indulgence towards us we can never forget.

We recollect with abhorrence and detestation the late unnatural rebellion, and the crimes it produced; but entertain the consoling reflection that the generality of the Roman Catholics in this country, of respectability, consequence, or property, with some exceptions, and even many amongst those, who still labour

under the painful appearance of delinquency, were perfectly innocent....nevertheless we have to lament, that there were too many guilty.

The compulsive sway and irresistible predominancy of a wicked and armed conspiracy dragged many peaceable and loyal subjects from their home into the field, and forced them, however reluctant, to take or to seem to take a part, and to appear in arms under the criminal banner of rebellion, during that dreadful paroxysm of political phrenzy, which we earnestly pray and hope God in his mercy will never again permit to convulse and desolate this once prosperous and happy country.

Allow us likewise, my Lord to express our deep indelible sense of gratitude to our beloved monarch for his majesty's attention to the happiness of all his subjects in this kingdom, clearly evinced by the appointment of your excellency to the chief government thereof at a difficult and awful crisis, when the social band was broken asunder, and social order appeared shaken from its very foundation by the wildest anarchy, excited and fostered by the baneful operation of modern French revolutionary maxims, which threatened us with all the moral and political evils that have so long and so grievously afflicted that ill-fated country.

The presence of your excellency happily arrested the progress of this contagious malady, and the inflexible perseverance in the wise, humane, and decisive measures, which so eminently characterizes your excellency's administration, has overawed the conspirators, reclaimed the deluded rebel, protected the loyalist, and gradually introduced into the mind of even the most obdurate offender an anxious desire to submit to legal government, and to live in an uninterrupted state of eternal peace in the spirit of Christian Charity with his fellow subjects of every religious persuasion or denomination whatsoever.

As we look forward with an anxious interest to the most effectual means of establishing the internal peace and prosperity of this hitherto distracted country, upon a comprehensive and permanent basis, we consider it a duty we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, thus openly to declare, that we conceive these desirable objects can only be attained by the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the common father of the people has in his wisdom recommended to the serious consideration of his parliament.

We are indeed firmly persuaded, that the proposed incorporation of both legislatures must give additional energy to the resources and vigour of the empire, by consolidating and identifying the common interests of the whole people, and that by the liberal efficiency of its operation, diffusing from the centre to the ex-

tremities of the empire, all those blessings which naturally flow from the genuine principles of the British constitution, it will afford to every description of his majesty's subjects in Ireland, perfect security in the full enjoyment of civil, political, and religious freedom.

Resolved, That the Right Honourable the Earl of Ely be humbly and respectfully requested to present this our address to his excellency the Marquis Cornwallis.

[Signed by above 3000 persons.]

Dublin Castle, Nov. 6, 1799.

MY LORD,

IN answer to the honour of your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and its inclosure, I am directed by my lord lieutenant to request, that you will have the goodness to convey his excellency's sincere acknowledgments to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the town of Wexford and other parishes in that county, for their address transmitted by your lordship.

His excellency desires me to state to your lordship, the satisfaction he receives from finding from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the county of Wexford, so general a concurrence of sentiment in favour of a legislative Union with Great Britain, which measure he considers essentially necessary for the future prosperity and tranquillity of his majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, &c.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Earl of Ely.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

The Address of the Roman Catholics of the city of Cork.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WITH the most affectionate and unfeigned respect, we beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your arrival in this city, and to assure your excellency of the high sense we entertain of the wisdom, firmness, and benevolence of your government, which has so happily subdued a desperate rebellion, and restored this lately distracted country to peace and tranquillity.

Our most gracious sovereign lord the king, to whose illustrious house we are bound by every tie of loyalty and gratitude, having in his parental care recommended to his parliaments in both countries the consideration of an Union of the legislatures of

his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, on the broad and permanent basis of mutual advantages and general security, we beg leave to express our sentiments on so important a question, and to declare to your excellency, that we consider it the most effectual means to promote the strength and happiness of the empire, to allay the unhappy distractions which have raged, and that nothing short of this salutary measure can ensure to us a continuance of the confidence, of the tranquillity, and the blessings which the wisdom of your auspicious government has restored to this country.

[Signed by 308 Subscribers.]

To the Roman Catholics of the City of Cork.

IT affords me singular pleasure to be assured, that the government of Ireland has been administered in a manner that has given you satisfaction during the period in which his majesty has graciously thought proper to commit it to my care.

In full expectation that the salutary measure to be brought forward will upon the completion of it, be the means of eventually terminating all religious and civil dissensions, and of giving reciprocal advantage and general security to the whole empire, it is with unfeigned gratification that I find a coincidence of opinion in this great work on the part of the loyal Roman Catholic inhabitants of the ancient and opulent city of Cork.*

CXIX.

THE ARTICLES OF UNION....PAGE 294.

RESOLVED, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland

* Many other such addresses were made by the different bodies of Roman Catholics: viz. From the county of Leitrim, signed by 1836; one from the county of Longford; from the inhabitants of Tipperary and Cahir; from those of the united parishes of Monasterevan, Lacka, Harristown, Nurney and Ballybrackin; from the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny; from those of the diocese of Elphin in the county of Roscommon, &c. &c.

into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 2. That for the purpose of establishing an Union upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his majesty's command in the message sent to this house by his excellency the lord lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty by his royal proclamation, under the great seal of the united kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, 3. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner, as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, 4. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 5. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the said united parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and im-

ports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same periods of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries, and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner, to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the united parliament shall have declared as herein after provided, that the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, imposed on the like articles in both countries.

Resolved, 6. That for defraying the said expences, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of the debt and sinking fund, shall, in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

Resolved, 7. That if at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution, and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the united parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of contribution in time of war. Provided the surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom by the par-

liament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the said united parliament to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expences, according to any of the rules herein before provided.

Provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which

either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the united kingdom, shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that lords spiritual of Ireland, and lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons in the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective parliaments, by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Resolved, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the parliament of the said united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Resolved, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities and boroughs respectively, in that part of Great

Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 16. That when his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain shall together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 17. That if his majesty on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the present parliament of Great Britain, should be members of the respective house of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said Lords and Commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the Lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and such first parliament may (in that case), if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the united kingdom in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

Resolved, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England and of Ireland should be united into one church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to and entitled to sit in convocation of the united church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the church of

England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the united church shall be preserved as now by law established for the church of England ; and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preservation for ever of the said united church, as the established church of that part of the united kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Resolved, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the Union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom ; and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only ; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Resolved, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies ; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Resolved, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth or manufacture of, either country to the other shall cease and determine ; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export,

Resolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, not herein-after enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the Schedule No. I. ; and that the articles herein after enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. II. annexed to this article, viz.

Apparel	Millinery
Brass wrought	Paper, stained
Cabinet ware	Pottery
Coaches and carriages	Saddlery
Copper wrought	Silk, manufacture
Cottons	Stockings
Glass	Thread, bullion for lace, pearl and spangles
Haberdashery	Tin plates, wrought iron and hardware
Hats	
Lace, gold and silver, gold and silver threads	

And that the woollen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportions, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton, yarn, and cotton twist, shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as shall be hereafter enacted, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Resolved, 23. That any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are com-

posed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule, No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles herein before specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

Resolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce or manufacture.

Resolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. Provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Great Britain into Ireland, according to the sixth article of Union.

Articles to be charged with countervailing duty in Ireland:

Beer	Silk
Glass	Spirits
Leather	Sugar, refined
Paper, stained	Sweets
Paper	Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of the Union.

Ten per cent. on the true value.

Apparel	silver threads, bullion for
Brass, wrought	lace, pearl and spangles
Cabinet ware	Millinery
Coaches and other carriages	Paper, stained
Copper, wrought	Pottery
Cotton, except calicoes and muslins	Saddlery and other manufactured leather
Glass	Silk manufacture
Haberdashery	Stockings.
Hats	Tin plates, wrought iron and
Lace, gold and silver, gold and hardware	

No. CXX.

(PAGE 315.)

Veneris, 6^o Junii, 1800.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WAS MOVED, THAT THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS BE PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY.

WE, your majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of Ireland, at all times sensible of the numerous and essential advantages, which we, in common with your subjects in Ireland, have derived under your auspicious reign beg leave to assure you, that none have more impressed the hearts of your majesty's subjects than the adjustment at your majesty's gra-

cious recommendation entered into by the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland in 1782, thereby forming the most solemn compact which can subsist between two countries under a common sovereign; that the result of that compact and adjustment was the increase of our trade and of our revenue, together with the harmony of the two parliaments and the support of the connection; that the said compact on the part of your majesty's parliament of Ireland, has been religiously and beneficially adhered to, insomuch, that a final termination of all constitutional questions between the two nations took place, and the commercial points which at that time remained to be settled, have since, without agitation or ferment, been gradually and satisfactorily disposed of.

That under these circumstances it is with the deepest concern and the greatest surprise we have seen a measure propounded, under the name of Union, to set aside this most important and sacred covenant, to deprive this country of her parliament in time to come; and in lieu thereof to introduce an innovation, consisting of a separate Irish government without an Irish parliament, whose power is to be transferred to a British parliament without an availing Irish representation therein, an innovation such as may impair and corrupt the constitution of Britain without preserving the liberties of Ireland; so that this country shall be in time to come taxed without being duly represented and legislated by a body out of the realm, incapable of applying proper remedies, and remote from the means of knowing her wants, her wishes, and her interests.

That giving the name of Union to the measure is a delusion; the two kingdoms are already united to each other in one common empire, one in unity of interest and unity of constitution, as has been emphatically pronounced from the throne by your majesty's former viceroy, bound together by law, and what is more effectual than law, by mutual interest, mutual affection, and mutual duty, to promote the common prosperity of the empire, and it is our glory and happiness that we form an inseparable part of it.

That this union has stood the test of ages, unbroken by the many foreign wars, civil commotions and rebellions which have assailed it, and we dread the rash and desperate innovation which now would wantonly and unnecessarily put it to the hazard; an innovation which does not affect to strengthen the unalterable interest of each country in supporting the revolution that placed your majesty's illustrious family on the throne, for that interest cannot be increased by any law; it is implanted in our heartsit is interwoven with our prosperity....it grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength.

Neither does it profess their connection together, because that interest already exists, and we know and feel that such connection includes all that is dear to us, and is essential to the common happiness and existence of both nations.

We therefore do, with all humility, implore your majesty's protection of that glorious revolution, and of that essential connection against the perseverance of your majesty's ministers in their endeavour to enforce this ruinous measure.

Their avowed object is a union of the two nations ; but the only union they attempt is a union of the two parliaments, and the articles which are to attend their partial and defective union, are all so many enumerations of existing distinct interests in the two kingdoms, which it cannot identify, and which require separate parliaments resident in each duly to attend them.

In respect to taxes, the purse of each nation is vested in its own House of Commons by the principles of the constitution ; the security of our liberty, and the great constitutional balance of the powers of the state, lie in its being left there ; but the articles acknowledge a separate purse, and a separate interest in that purse, by providing for a separate proportion of expence, separate modes and laws of taxation, separate debts, separate sinking funds, separate treasury, separate exchequer, separate accounts of revenue to be kept, and separate articles of produce to be placed in the way of debtor and creditor between the two kingdoms as between two unconnected parties ; and though they state, acknowledge and attempt to form regulations for all these many distinct interests, which no laws can identify or consolidate ; and though even the legal interest of money remains different in the two kingdoms without their attempting to assimilate it, yet they take away the Irish parliament, which these distinctnesses ought rather to have suggested the creation of, if it did not exist, and they lay the foundation of distress, discontent, and jealousies in this kingdom, if not of worse evils, and tend to familiarize ideas of separation instead of union, to the utter ruin of this your ancient kingdom, and your loyal subjects therein.

In regard to manufactures, they acknowledge the interest in them to be so distinct, that they are forced to provide in express terms against a free intercourse being allowed between the two kingdoms, in more than twenty general denominations, and they establish countervailing duties on the mutual import of at least twenty-four species of goods on account of the necessary difference in taxation and the distinctness of revenue, which, from the separate interest of the two kingdoms in them, will not admit of consolidation.

On the mutual interchange of corn, that great necessary of life, they not only continue duties, but they provide for retaining

prohibitions and bounties ; and instead of even alleging an identity of interest in so important and general an article, they avow such separate interest to exist in it as law cannot remove ; and an interdict is necessary to be laid on its free communication between two kingdoms, which your majesty's ministers have at the same time the hardness to tell us, their project is to unite, identify, and consolidate throughout all their interests.

We see with them that these interests are distinct, and we therefore raise up our voices to your majesty against their impracticable attempt to consolidate them ; an attempt which they themselves acknowledge to be so by their many provisions, all intended to secure a continuance of their distinctness.

But, however separate these interests are in taxes, in revenue, in trade, and in manufactures, and however incapable of being identified, we have the happiness of knowing, that in the great point of constitution no difference exists ; both nations have a full right to all the blessings of the British constitution, and we have an identity, not a distinctness of interest, in the possession of it ; yet such is the strange passion of your majesty's ministers for innovation, that not finding any such distinctness, they do by these articles create several highly alarming to us, and to all your majesty's subjects of this kingdom, who claim an equal right with Great Britain in the full and free enjoyment of that constitution.

All the Irish temporal lords, except twenty-eight, are to be incapacitated by this measure exercising their rights and duties as peers and hereditary counsellors, while every British temporal lord is to retain his full functions.

Four spiritual lords only are to have a share in the legislature, while all the British spiritual lords are to continue theirs ; and two-thirds of the Irish commoners are to be disqualified, while every British commoner remains.

The articles further declare, that all Irish peerages shall be considered as peerages of the united kingdom, whereby the Irish peers who are to be incapacitated from legislating as peers are to continue peers, and may legislate as commoners, against every known principle and established practice of the constitution ; nay, even when chosen commoners, they are not to represent any place in Ireland, the country from whence they derive their honours, although their voices as commoners will extend equally with that of every other commoner to all the corners of this kingdom ; and thus the Irish purse will be eventually put into the hands of the Irish peers, in direct defiance of a great and fundamental principle of the constitution.

All these degrading and unconstitutional distinctions are not only created in the Irish peerage, but are to remain for ever without power of alteration, by a provision being made in the articles for a constant creation of peers for Ireland.

That the Irish peerage is to be kept for ever a distinct body from the British, though the project professes a union of the two kingdoms of Britain and Ireland, and attempts a union of the two parliaments, of which the peerage, a constituent part, stripped as it will be of all parliamentary function, perpetuates a distinction insulting and degrading to this kingdom, which our ministers, if they had solely in view, without any regard to influence, a lasting union of the parliaments, to which this continuance no way contributes, would have avoided by providing that the Irish peers when reduced to the proposed number of twenty-eight, should be declared peers of the united empire equally with the British, and thus would have dissolved all national distinctions between them for the time to come.

But it is not in trade, revenue, and manufactures only, that distinct interests are declared to exist, nor in constitution alone that separate interests are to be created; the same distinction is to be preserved in the administration of justice, every difference of law, every variation of practice and of regulation which now prevails, is to be allowed to distinguish the civil and ecclesiastical courts, with this one exception only, that in the ultimate appeal every Irish suitor is to be again at the expence and hazard of going to Westminster, instead of having a court in Dublin to resort to.

We enlarge the more on these several enumerations of separate interests, avowed or created by your majesty's ministers, because the many provisions they propose for their future regulation, are so many acknowledgments that no force of law can identify them so as to admit of their consolidation. Provisions all in themselves presumptuous and insufficient, inasmuch as it is not in the power of human wisdom to foresee the events of time, and provide now by a system declared immutable, for the varying changes which must naturally take place in the lapse of years.

Under the same conviction, though they profess a union of the two parliaments, they do not attempt out of them one with equal and common powers for both kingdoms; it is to be free in all its functions in respect to Britain, but shackled and bound up by restrictions as to Ireland.

In this they deprive your majesty's Irish subjects of a parliament such only as the British constitution acknowledges, free in its deliberations for every part of the empire it is to legislate for, such as we have a right to enjoy, equally unrestrained in its

powers and unfettered in its proceedings as to the interests of this your majesty's kingdom ; and such a one free and independent in all its functions, as we solemnly claimed to be our birth-right in 1782, and as your majesty in your wisdom and justice did then graciously confirm to this kingdom for ever, but which claim and gracious confirmation your ministers now seek to take away from the kingdom for ever.

That having thus shewn to your majesty how very inefficient the project of your ministers is to answer even the purpose it avows, and how very ruinous its operation must be, if you shall not be graciously pleased to interfere, we feel it our further duty to expose fully to your majesty's view not only the artful delusions which those ministers have presumed to hold out of supposed advantages in commerce, in revenue, in taxes and in manufactures to deceive the people into an approbation of their scheme, but the corrupt and unconstitutional means which they have used, the undue manner in which they have employed the influence of the crown and the misrepresentations which they have made of the sense of your majesty's people of Ireland on the measure.

Were all the advantages, which without any foundation they have declared that this measure offers, to be its instant and immediate consequence, we do not hesitate to say expressly, that we could not harbour the thought of accepting them in exchange for our freedom for commerce, or our constitution for revenue ; but the offers are mere impositions, and we state with the firmest confidence, that in commerce or trade their measure confers no one advantage, nor can it confer any, for by your majesty's gracious and paternal attention to this your ancient realm of Ireland, every restriction under which its commerce laboured has been removed during your majesty's auspicious reign, and we are now as free to trade to all the world as Britain is.

In manufactures any attempt it makes, to offer any benefit which we do not now enjoy, is vain and delusive, and wherever it is to have effect, that effect will be to our injury ; most of the duties on import which operate as protections to our manufactures are under its provision either to be removed or reduced immediately, and those which will be reduced are to cease entirely at a limited time ; though many of our manufactures owe their existence to the protection of those duties, and though it is not in the power of human wisdom to foresee any precise time, when they may be able to thrive without them. Your majesty's faithful commons feel more than an ordinary interest in laying this fact before you, because they have under your majesty's approbation raised up and nursed many of those manufactures, and by so doing have encouraged much capital to be vested

in them, the proprietors of which are now to be left unprotected, and to be deprived of the parliament on whose faith they embarked themselves, their families and properties in the undertaking.

In revenue we shall not only lose the amount of the duties which are thus to be removed or lowered, and which the papers laid before us by the lord lieutenant shew to amount to the immediate annual sum of 50,000*l.* but we shall be deprived of nearly as much more by the annihilation of various export duties, which have subsisted for above a century on other articles of intercourse, without being felt or complained of by us; and this whole revenue of 50,000*l.* operating beneficially to our manufactures, and of near 50,000*l.* more which oppressed no manufacture, is to be wantonly given up without the desire or wish of either nation, at a time when our income is more than ever unequal to our expences, and when the difficulty of raising new taxes to supply its place, is alarmingly increased by our having been obliged in this very session, to impose new burthens to the estimated amount of 200,000*l.* a year, and we cannot but remark that in this arrangement, while we give up this revenue of near 100,000*l.* a year, Great Britain is to give up one not amounting quite to 40,000*l.* an inequality no way consonant with the impartiality or justice professed by your majesty's ministers, nor any wise consistent with the comparative abilities of the two countries to replace the loss.

But the imposition of your majesty's ministers is still more glaring, in their having presumed to fix a proportion of contribution towards the general future expences, to be observed by the two kingdoms in the ratio of one by Ireland, for every seven parts and a half by Britain.

If they had any plausible grounds, whereon they calculated this proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before your parliament, and the usual and established forms of committees to investigate into matters of such intricate and extended calculation have been superseded by them.

Your majesty's faithful commons are satisfied that the calculation is extremely erroneous, and that on a just and fair enquiry into the comparative means of each country, this kingdom ought not and is not able to contribute in any thing like the proportion.

They feel a duty too to protest most solemnly against any arrangement of taxation, to none of which they have had documents, or made any enquiry to guide their judgments, and in which they understand no consideration whatever has been had to the different legal interest of money in this kingdom, which causes a disadvantage of 20*l.* per cent. in procuring capital, nor to the relative quantity of shipping possessed and used by each coun-

try, nor to the export trade in foreign articles, nor to the extent of manufacture for home consumption, nor to the balance of trade which shews the annual increase of its clear profit, and of course the annual increase of the fund, it creates to contribute from, in all of which the means of Britain very far exceed the foregoing proportion, and particularly in the balance of trade, which in Ireland amounts to little more than half a million with all the world, but it is stated by authority to have amounted to 14,800,000*l.* in Britain, exclusive of an annual influx of money from the East and West Indies to the amount of four millions to the proprietors resident in Britain, and of two millions from Ireland to the proprietors of Irish estates resident there, and of another million from Ireland for the charges of her debt due in Britain; whereas the only known or visible influx of money into Ireland is the above balance of trade of half a million only, and these two sums of two millions and one million, while they add to the wealth and means of Britain unfortunately take away in the same amount from the ability of Ireland.

Thus had a due investigation been made, and a fair enquiry gone into with a view to obtain a true knowledge of facts whereon to ground a just calculation, it would have appeared that this proportion for Ireland is not only unjust, but far beyond what it will be in her power to discharge; and the rashness of your majesty's ministers in hazarding such a measure, is the more to be lamented or wondered at, because should Ireland engage to pay more than she is able to answer, the necessary consequence must be a rapid decrease of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and in the end her total bankruptcy; but under such circumstances she cannot be alone a bankrupt; and should she fatally become so by an injudicious or avaricious apportionment of constitution, Great Britain must share in her ruin, and our great and glorious empire be brought to the brink of destruction, by an innovating attempt to take from Ireland its constitution, and substitute a theoretic, visionary and untried system in its room.

We should therefore earnestly supplicate your majesty, to oblige your ministers to defer the measure, until a full and satisfactory investigation should be made, if we did not feel, that it ought to be entirely relinquished, and that the injuries and dangers attending on it, could not be removed by any change of that proportion, or reconciled by any modification of detail whatsoever.

Subordinate however as the consideration of it is, we cannot omit remarking to your majesty, that there is cunningly and insidiously annexed to it a provision for its ceasing, even within

the short period of three years, should the war continue so long; and that when we shall increase our debt so, as that it shall bear the like proportion to the permanent debt of Britain, all the delusive benefit held out by this proportion is to cease, and we are to undergo common taxes with Britain.

We lament such delusion should be resorted to, it is too palpable not to be seen, and instead of the confidence which ought to attend every arrangement between the kingdoms, such conduct must excite diffidence and distrust.

This proportion of their respective permanent debts is to be attained by increasing our debt, which we must do, and by Britain lessening her's, which she is in the actual course of reducing, as rapidly at least as that of Ireland increases; the absurdity therefore of the position is self evident, for it says, that Ireland by increasing her debt, and its annual charges, will become more wealthy and more able to bear equal taxes with Britain, but that Britain by decreasing her's will be less able to pay her contribution and can only pay equal taxes.

Another delusion (omitted however in the articles proposed,) has been also plausibly offered, still further to deceive your majesty's subjects of Ireland into an approbation of this destructive measure, and a promise has been authoritatively announced or artfully insinuated by your ministers in this kingdom, that Ireland is to save by it, or that Great Britain is to give her a million a year revenue in time of war, and have a million a year in time of peace.

But we know, that during a war like the present such a promise is impracticable, and both kingdoms must strain every nerve and draw forth every resource.

We seek not to load our sister kingdom unnecessarily by lessening our own burthen, and our loyalty forbids us to listen to arguments which offer to save our purse at the expense of Britain; but it is all a delusion, for we see nothing in the uniting the two parliaments which can change the course of the war, or lessen the total mass of expense of both nations; and we assert most confidently, that no gift can be made or saving ensue in our expenses by the Union, however they may be attempted to be increased by the unfounded and unfair proportion ascertained for us to bear of the general expenditure; but were the offer founded, were it effectual and desirable, its advantages rest on the misfortunes of war, and we should feel ourselves unworthy of the trust reposed in us, if we could suffer a hope, arising from the continuation of such a dreadful calamity, to direct our conduct in any measure, much less in one which calls on us to give up our constitution for ever.

Neither can we look forward to any proposed saving from the Union in peace, for we are not told, nor could we believe it, if your majesty's ministers did tell us, that a bill professing to unite the two kingdoms, inseparably united without a bill, can have an influence on the situation of the affairs of Europe, or that it can allow us, during the next peace, to dispense with keeping up the same military force as during the last, and we are further given to understand, that your majesty's royal court, and all its establishment, the courts of law, the exchequer, and all the revenue expenses are to be continued without the parliament equally as with it; but were the saving practicable, we feel it our own duty to make it without a Union, and we know no parliament can do it for Ireland, with the same safety as the resident parliament of Ireland.

But it is not only in respect to these delusions held out as to trade and revenue that we feel it our duty to lay before your majesty the conduct of your ministers on this measure; we must state the means by which they have endeavoured to carry it. That in the first instance, admitting the necessity of conforming to the sense of the parliament and the people, they took the sense of the commons, and found that sense to be against it; that they then affected to appeal against the parliament to the people, at the same time endeavouring by their choice of sheriffs to obstruct the regular and constitutional mode whereby the sense of the people has been usually collected; that on the contrary, they did use or abet and encourage the using of various arts and stratagems to procure from individuals of the lowest order, some of whom were their prisoners and felons, scandalous signatures against the constitution; that notwithstanding these attempts to procure a fallacious appearance of strength and muster against parliament, the people have expressed their sentiments decidedly against the Union, and twenty-one counties at public meetings legally convened, and also many other counties by petitions signed by the freeholders, and many cities and towns, have expressed either to your majesty or to this house, or to both, their decided and unalterable hostility to the Union; yet your ministers have as we believe, taken upon them to state to your majesty and your ministers in Britain, in defiance of all these facts, that the sense of the nation is not adverse to the measure; that if there could be any doubt that your majesty's ministers in the appointment of sheriffs did consider how they might obstruct the people in delivering their opinion regarding the Union, that doubt is fully explained by their continuing in office the sheriffs of the former year in more than one instance, whence it also appears how decidedly the sense of the country is against this measure, when your majesty's ministers found it difficult to procure any person to serve the office of sheriff who was properly qualified, and was also a friend to the

measure; that finding the sense of the people as well as the parliament to be against it, your majesty's ministers attempted to change the parliament itself, and refusing to take the sense of the nation by a general election, they procured a partial dissolution, and did so publicly abuse the disqualifying clause in the Place Bill, (which was enacted for the express purpose of preserving the freedom and independence of parliament,) that by vacating seats under its authority very many new returns were made to this house for the purpose of carrying it, and thus did they change the parliament without restoring to the people; that before the ministry had perverted the place bill, the sense of parliament was against their Union, and if that bill had not been so perverted, that sense had remained unaltered; that of those who voted for the Union, we beg leave to inform your majesty that seventy-six had places or pensions under the crown, and others were under the immediate influence of constituents who held great offices under the crown; that the practices of influence above mentioned were accompanied by the removal from office of various servants of the crown who had seats in parliament, particularly the chancellor of the exchequer, the prime serjeant, three commissioners of the revenue, a commissioner of accounts, a commissioner of barracks and the cursitor of the court of chancery, because they would not vote away the parliament, also by their withdrawing their confidence from others of your majesty's faithful and able counsellors for the same reason; that they procured or encouraged the purchase of seats in this house to return members to vote for the Union, also the introduction of persons unconnected with this country to vote away her parliament; that they have also attempted to prostitute the peerage by promising to persons, not even commoners in parliament her sacred honours, if they would come into this house and vote for the Union: and that, finally, they have annexed to their plan of Union an artful device, whereby a million and a half of money is to be given to private persons possessing returns, who are to receive said sum of the event of the Union, for the carrying of which to such an amount said persons are to be paid; and this nation is to make good the sale by which she is thus disinherited of her parliament, and is to be taxed for ever to raise the whole amount, although if your ministers shall persevere in such a flagrant, unconstitutional scheme, and the money is to be raised, it is for the Union, and being therefore an imperial concern, ought to be borne in the proportion already laid down for imperial expences, that is, two seventeenths by Ireland and fifteen seventeenths by Britain; that under these unconstitutional circumstances your majesty's ministers have endeavoured, against the declared sense of the people, to impose upon them a new constitution subverting the old one.

That when we consider the peculiar situation of this kingdom, with the annual drains of money from it by persons possessing property in it who don't reside, to the estimated amount of at least two millions annually, when we advert to the further inevitable drain of a million a year by the public revenue to be remitted to Britain for the annual charges of our public debt, and that to countervail these great and tremendous issues of money, amounting to three millions, we have only our general balance of trade not 600,000*l.* a year to balance against them; we look with dread on a measure which must on the one hand, necessarily add to those drains by adding a new and large portion of our wealthiest fellow-subjects to the present absentees, and which must, on the other hand, decrease that balance by encouraging and promoting new imports of manufacture in the room of those which will decline here.

We look to it with the more dread, because, notwithstanding the great loans from England to the amount of six millions in the last three years, we have not been able to counterbalance the existing drains from hence and the exchange has been and still continues regularly and uniformly against us.

And further, because our inability to raise the necessary loans with this kingdom, even to the small extent that has been expected, is unfortunately now too evident; and the continuing to supply our treasury by loans from Britain, though it may afford some temporary relief, will regularly increase the evil.

Your majesty's ministers, therefore, if they promise to themselves, or to the British nation, any easement to their own taxes from the supposed accession of power over our wealth and over our resources, will find themselves most thoroughly disappointed; and if the difficulty of remittance shall increase, the manufacturers of Britain who have hitherto supplied this kingdom will find the demand for their goods decrease in proportion as that difficulty shall arise.

That we understand one benefit which they hold out from the proposed measure is what your ministers affect to call tranquilizing Ireland, but that when we look to our parliament, and see with what efficacy and promptness it has contributed to put down the late unfortunate rebellion, how inadequate a parliament not resident would have been; when we reflect that in a kingdom containing four and a half millions of people, a resident parliament must possess the quick and authoritative means of giving energy to the executive, which a parliament in another country cannot have; that the removing the parliament tends to remove with it from the kingdom those men of large property and influence, of talents and respectability, whose presence is at all times essential to tranquillity, and may at some conjuncture be alone capable of preserving it; that their absence will leave

room for political agitators, and men of talents without principle or property, to disturb and irritate the public mind; we tremble for the consequences of that measure at once the most rash and unnecessary that ever was brought forward by any ministers, and at a time most fitted to produce every evil dreaded, and least fitted to promote any one benefit held forth.

That when we consider the time chosen to introduce such a measure we feel additional repugnance, it being the moment of our weakness and distress, when the country is of course less free to deliver its full and heart-felt sentiments against the illiberality of such an attempt; peculiarly mortifying to those your majesty's subjects who had recently exerted themselves in defence of that constitution which they are now called upon to surrender, and at a time too when the spirit of innovation is abroad and likely to be much encouraged by the example of your majesty's ministers in this their proceeding against the ancient liberties of the people, who may be rendered an unprofitable or dangerous part of the British empire, whether in consequence of this Union they become slavish and abject, or restless and dissatisfied.

That when we reflect on the great value of the acts for trying controverted elections, how eminently and effectually they have been framed for preserving the purity of election, without which purity of parliament cannot exist; and when we see that your ministers, well knowing the value we set on them, have proposed various means to continue those benefits to us in the few elections which will remain to be held here after the Union, and have withdrawn them all from their inefficacy and insufficiency almost as soon as they were proposed, and have now abandoned all hope of framing any; we foresee and dread the formidable power which the measure of Union will give to the minister in all Irish elections, by destroying the beneficial operation of these acts; for the expence, trouble and delay of trying controverted Irish elections in London, will deter many candidates, entitled to be returned, from seeking redress; the sheriffs, who are all appointed by the minister, will, in fact, nominate the members, and many of them having already obeyed the wishes of the minister in endeavouring to stifle the constitutional voice of the people, give us too sure an omen of the conduct which may be expected from them in elections.

That whether we rest on this incontrovertible and self-evident truth, that no parliament in another kingdom can have the local information or knowledge of the manners, habits, wants or wishes of the nation, which its own parliament naturally possesses, and which is requisite for beneficial legislation, nor can be supplied with the necessary information, either as promptly or accurately;

or whether we look to the clear proofs of that truth which the progress of this measure has afforded, by your ministers having called to their assistance in London the great officers of this kingdom most likely from their station to give full information for framing their measure; and though all their talents and all their own information, and what they obtained by letters while it was pending, were employed for months there, yet when they brought it back, a few hours, or rather a few minutes enquiry on the spot in Dublin, forced them to alter their project in very many articles, complete and perfect as they thought it: we have strong additional reason to feel and to represent the manifest and irreparable injuries which this kingdom must sustain by the want of a resident parliament, and the impossibility of legislation being carried on for it as it ought to be. Therefore, inasmuch as the measure of a Union is an unnecessary innovation, and innovations, at all times hazardous, are rendered peculiarly so now by the awful situation of the times; inasmuch too, as far from being an innocent experiment, it is replete with changes injurious to our trade and manufactures and our revenues; inasmuch also, as it destroys our constitution which has worked well, and substitutes a new one, the benefits of which we cannot see, but the numerous evils and dangers of which are apparent, and which in every change it offers militates against some known and established principle of the British constitution; inasmuch also, as it so far endangers the constitution of Britain, as not to leave us the certainty of enjoying a free constitution there when our own shall be destroyed;

Inasmuch as it tends to impoverish and subjugate Ireland, without giving wealth or strength to Britain;

Inasmuch as it tends to raise and perpetuate discontent and jealousies, to create new and strengthen old distinctnesses of interest in our concerns of trade, manufactures, revenue and constitution; and instead of encreasing the connection between the two kingdoms, may tend to their separation, to our consequent ruin, and to the destruction or dismemberment of the empire;

Inasmuch as it endangers instead of promoting or securing the tranquillity of Ireland, as it degrades the national pride and character, debases its rank from a kingdom to that of a dependant province, yet leaves us every expense and mark of a kingdom but the great essential one of a parliament;

Inasmuch as it has been proposed and hitherto carried against the decided and expressed sense of the people, notwithstanding the improper means resorted to, to prevent that sense being declared, and to misrepresent it when known;

Inasmuch as it is not grounded in all its intricate and momentous parts on that solemn and full investigation which ought to

attend every measure of great moment, and has been introduced and conducted with various delusions and impositions, and with an unbecoming and suspicious haste ;

Inasmuch as it provides for sending one hundred of the present representatives to legislate in another kingdom, though elected only to sit in the parliament in this, and does not give the people an opportunity, by a new election, to exercise their discretion in a new choice of persons for such a new, altered and increased trust ;

Inasmuch as it leaves to be determined, by the chance of drawing lots, the choice of thirty-two members to represent as many great cities and towns, with a levity which tends to turn into ridicule the sacred and serious trust of representative ; and while it commits to one person the office which the constitution commits to two, of speaking the voice of the people and granting their money, it does not allow the electors to chuse which of the two they will entrust with that power ;

And inasmuch as means the most unconstitutional, influence the most undue, and bribes openly avowed, have been resorted to, to carry it against the known sense of the commons and people during the existence of martial law throughout the land :

We feel it our bounden duty to ourselves, our country, and our posterity, to lay this our most solemn protest and prayer before your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to extend your paternal protection to your faithful and loyal subjects, and to save them from the danger threatened by your majesty's ministers in this their ruinous and destructive project, humbly declaring with the most cordial and warm sincerity, that we are actuated therein by an irresistible sense of duty, by an unshaken loyalty to your majesty, by a veneration for the British name, by an ardent attachment to the British nation, with whom we have so often declared we will stand or fall, and by a determination to preserve for ever the connection between the two kingdoms on which the happiness, the power and the strength of each irrevocably and unalterably depend.

The question being put on the foregoing motion, the house divided,

Tellers for the Ayes, who went out, Lord Visc.	} 77
Corry and Mr. Saurin,	
Tellers for the Noes, who stayed within, Right.	} 135
Hon. Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Robert	
John,	
It passed in the negative.	

CXXI.

PROTEST OF THE IRISH PEERS AGAINST THE UNION.

[PAGE 316.]

DISSENTIENT,

1. BECAUSE the measure recommended by our most gracious sovereign was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded upon equal and liberal principles. We cannot help observing, that the terms proposed in the said bill are inconsistent with those principles, and are totally unequal. That Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminished her Houses of Lords and Commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Irish peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legislative functions, and that two-thirds of the Irish House of Commons are to be struck off.

Such a proceeding appears to us totally unequal, both in respect of numbers, and the mode of forming the united parliament; and we cannot suggest any reason for reducing the number of members of the Irish houses of parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the British houses of parliament, whose numbers so greatly exceed that of the members of the Irish houses of parliament.

2. Because the measure recommended by his majesty, was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, by which we understand such an Union as should so perfectly identify the two nations, that they should become one nation, and that there should not exist any distinct interest between them.

When we consider the provisions of the said bill, we find that although its professed object is to form a perfect Union between them, it does not in any sort effect it. It unites the legislature, but does not identify the nations. Their interests will remain as distinct as they are at present. Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy, assisted by an Irish privy council. Her purse, her revenues, her expenditure, and her taxes, will be as distinct as they are at present from those of Great Britain, even their intercourse of trade must be carried on as between two separate nations, through the medium of revenue officers. Such distinctnesses of interest prove that they

require separate parliaments, resident in each kingdom to attend to them. That such Union is only nominal, and that it does not effect that complete and entire Union recommended by his majesty, but shews that from the circumstances of the two nations, the same is totally impracticable.

3. Because the adjustment of the numbers of the Irish members to be added to the two houses of the imperial parliament, has been determined upon without any official documents, or other authentic information, having been laid before parliament. That upon the Union with Scotland, such proportion was adjusted by the commissioners appointed for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their respective claims, having thereupon agreed that the number of commoners to be added to the English commoners, consisting of five hundred and thirteen, should be forty-five on the part of Scotland; and the number of English peers, being then one hundred and eighty-five, they calculated that sixteen were the same proportion to that number which forty-five were to the English House of commons, and therefore determined upon that number of peers. This calculation justified the propriety of such adjustment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of Irish peers was reduced to thirty-two, when, according to the proportion aforesaid, it ought to have been fifty-three. We must consider such conduct as unjust in its principle, and wantonly casting a stigma upon the Irish peerage, by depriving twenty-one of their body of their just rights of sitting in the united parliament.

4. Because, that however proper it may have been for two parliaments to mark out the great outlines for forming an Union between the two nations, we think that from their situations in different kingdoms, and the impracticability of communication between them, they were ill suited to the adjustment of matters which required detail.

That the mode of proceeding adopted by the great Lord Somers upon the Union with Scotland, of appointing commissioners on the behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well adapted to that purpose. That such commissioners having the means of procuring information, and communication with each other, were thereby enabled to settle with propriety, and to the satisfaction of both nations, such matters as should be necessary to be adjusted between them. That instead of adopting that wise and rational mode of proceeding, the adjustment of the numbers to be added to the imperial parliament has been established in pursuance of the mandate of the British minister, without laying before parliament any official document

whatsoever, or taking any step to procure information concerning the respective claims of the two nations.

5. Because by the original distribution of power between the two houses of parliament, it has been established, as a leading and fundamental principle of the constitution, that the commons should hold the purse of the nation without the interference of the peerage; notwithstanding which, and that the said bill declares that Irish peerages shall be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; it directs that Irish peers shall be eligible as commoners to represent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purse of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the peers of the united kingdom, under the description of Irish peers, in direct defiance of the aforesaid principle. That it is evident, that such innovation was introduced by the minister, for the purpose of preventing the opposition which the measure might receive from such Irish peers as were members of the British House of Commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours.

That by the provision in the bill for a constant creation of Peers for Ireland, the Irish peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading distinction by which the Irish peerage is to continue stripped of all parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of such distinction would have been avoided, by providing, that no Irish peer should hereafter be created, (which is the case of Scotch Peers.) And that whenever the Irish peers shall be reduced to the number of twenty-eight, they should be declared peers of the United empire, agreeably with the British. From which time all national distinctions between them should cease.

6. Because, when we advert to the corrupt and unconstitutional language held out by the ministers, to such members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they should be considered as their private property, and should be purchased as such, and the price paid out of the public purse, such language appears to us to amount to a proposal to buy the Irish parliament, for government, and makes the Union a measure of bargain and sale between the minister and the individual.

7. Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by two kingdoms to the expences of the united empire most unequally adjusted, and that the share of two-seventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what the resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequences will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the pro-

duce of her taxes, and finally, her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fail, Great Britain must necessarily be involved in her ruin, and we will have to lament, that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of destruction by the dangerous and visionary speculation of substituting a new system of government for Ireland, in the place of that constitution, which she has experienced to be the firmest security for the preservation of her liberties. We think it proper to observe, that if the ministry had any plausible grounds whereon they have calculated the said proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before the parliament, nor have the usual and established forms of proceeding to investigate matters of intricate and extended calculation been resorted to, by appointing committees for their examination, neither have commissioners been appointed, as was done upon the Union with Scotland. Had the minister applied his attention to that very necessary enquiry, of ascertaining the relative ability of the two nations, he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favour from her trade with all the world, amounting to fourteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds, with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to five hundred and nine thousand three hundred and twelve pounds, bearing a proportion to each other of about twenty-nine to one. He would have examined into the amount of the revenue out of which the said proportions must naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he would have found to have produced in Great Britain in the year ending the fifth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, the sum of twenty-six millions, and that the permanent taxes of Ireland in the corresponding year did not exceed two millions, bearing a proportion to each other of about thirteen to one. He would have been informed, that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be discovered, is the said balance of her trade of five hundred thousand pounds, and that she remits to Great Britain annually seven hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds, a sum exceeding by upward of two hundred and fifteen thousand pounds the amount of such balance.

That the remittances to her absentees, as stated by Mr. Pitt, amount to one million, but are computed really to amount to double that sum, and must necessarily greatly increase, should the Union take place, such drains exhausting in a great degree the resources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large sums of money have lately been raised in Great Britain, compared with the unsuccessful attempt to raise so small a sum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the strongest proof of the opulence of the one, and the poverty of the other.

From the Irish minister's own statement, he has computed, that the sum for which this kingdom shall be called upon annually in time of war as her contribution, will amount to four millions four hundred and ninety-two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, but has not attempted to point out the means by which she can raise so enormous a sum. When the minister shall find, that the circumstances of Ireland are such as have been herein stated, and shall recollect, that this new project has been suggested by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immense responsibility, which falls upon him for the disastrous consequence which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom, but upon the whole empire. He will be alarmed at the discontents, which an imposition of taxes beyond the abilities of the people to pay must produce, and the fatal consequences that they may occasion.

8. Because the transfer of our legislature to another kingdom will deprive us of the only security we have for the enjoyment of our liberties, and being against the sense of the people, amounts to a gross breach of trust, and we consider the substitute for our constitution, namely, the return of the proposed number of persons to the united parliament as delusive, amounting indeed to an acknowledgment of the necessity of representation, but in no sort supplying it. Inasmuch as the thirty-two peers and the one hundred commoners will be merged in the vast disproportion of British members, who will in fact be the legislators of Ireland; and when we consider, that all the establishments are to continue, which must add to the influence of the minister over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Irish members to parliament, we conceive, that such portion is more likely to overturn the constitution of Great Britain than to preserve our own.

9. Because we consider the intended Union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland.

Inasmuch as the tenour and purport of the settlement of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, did intentionally and expressly exclude the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority of the Irish parliament without the interference of any other, that the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time to withstand the destructive design of the minister, must tend to destroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principle of mutual encroachment in times of mutual difficulties.

10. Because, that when we consider the weakness of this kingdom at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her

inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple to the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it, such as the abuse of the place bill for the purpose of modelling the parliament, the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings, the dismissal of the old stedfast friends of constitutional government, for their adherence to the constitution, and the return of persons into parliament, who had neither connection nor stake in this country, and were therefore selected to decide upon her fate : when we consider the armed force of the minister, added to his powers and practices of corruption, when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that the basest means have been used to accomplish this great innovation, that the measure of Union tends to dishonour the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and will create jealousy between the two nations, in the place of that harmony, which for so many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11. Because the argument made use of in favour of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue ; and as the ministers have declared, that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the minister to enter our protest against the project of Union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonour which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expence it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite : against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names, in solemn protest on behalf of the parliamentary constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connection which it preserved, and the constitution which it supplied and fortified : this we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honour, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

Leinster

Arran

Mount Cashell

Farnham

Belmore, by proxy

Massy, by proxy

Rd. Waterford and Lismore

Powerscourt

De Vesci

Charlemont,

Kingston, by proxy

Riversdale, by proxy

Strangford	Meath
Granard	Lismore, by proxy
Ludlow, by proxy	Sunderlin, except for the 7th
Moir, by proxy, for the 8th,	reason.
10th, and 11th reasons	

DISSENTIENT.

I. BECAUSE I conceive that this bill, in radically altering the organization and powers of the state, in and for the respective kingdoms, does essentially adulterate the spirit of the constitution as to both.

That in depriving Ireland of her local resident parliament, it divests her of those essential benefits of the British constitution, protection and control.

That by reducing the kingdom of Ireland to a British province, it merges essential powers of the crown and parliament of Ireland, not in the imperial crown, but in the imperial parliament of Great Britain, thereby rendering the British constitution by so much the more aristocratic, and by so much the less monarchical, in the *ratio* of the representation of Ireland as set out in this bill. That this radical alteration of the British constitution is most prominently conspicuous in the nomination and appointment of the peers to sit in the incorporated parliament for Ireland, the term of which appointment not only divests the king of one of his elementary and brightest prerogatives, the exclusive creation of the peerage, but by its departure even from the precedent of the Scottish Union, (which, however inapplicable, has been pertinaciously insisted upon by the advocates for the measure,) does according to the tenour of this bill, for ever exclude his majesty and his successors, even from the benefit, which might be derived to the monarchy from a periodical return of such nomination.

2. Because I apprehend that this radical alteration of the constitution of both kingdoms, may sooner or later be productive of the most injurious and fatal consequences to the crown and to the people of each, by warping the interests of the minister from the interests of the crown, and by identifying the personal interests of the former with the personal interest of the imperial parliament, thus drawing a line of distinction between those interests, which every principle of the constitution has provided should at all times be one and the same, and blending those personal interests which every principle of the constitution does provide, should be for ever kept distinct, thereby destroying the responsibility of the minister, and with it that great preserver of order and of right, a strong executive under the control of a strong balanced constitution, the possible ultimate consequence of which, however remote, cannot escape the eye

of any man, who is capable of taking a prospective view of causes and effects.

3. Because every allegation which has been advanced, and every argument, which has been urged by the advocates for this measure, may with equal truth and consistency be made a plea for a total subversion and abolition of the British constitution as to Great Britain herself, to whom alone, we are now to look forward for the preservation of any vestige of that inestimable blessing. A consideration rendered more weighty to the understanding, and impressive on the mind of every thinking loyal subject of both kingdoms, by the apophthegm, with which this system has been from high official authority wound up, and the alarming innovation to which it is applied. It is as follows, "that in this measure is recorded a main and fundamental principle of the British constitution, viz. that the liberties of the people do not depend upon their being represented in any one precise and specific manner, or upon each individual having a vote in the representation, but, they result from the admission of various modes of election, and from the different combinations of the various interests of the country.

"This is fully recognized in the article as approved of by both legislatures, that there is no species of representation, which may not with propriety and benefit be admitted into the constitution, provided it be admitted within a limited degree."

A doctrine, which dangerous in theory, and critical in practice, is here subversively brought into action by the fifth clause of the fourth article of this bill, which provides, that peers of Ireland may upon certain conditions sit in the House of Commons for the imperial parliament for any British county, city, or borough, for which they may be so elected, though by the thirteenth clause of the said article, all peerages of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom under certain limitations and restrictions therein stated, thereby breaking down the lines established by the constitution, and with them, every idea of distinctness, of function, and of inherent dignity attached to peerage, introducing a principle tending to divert the respective orders of the state from their constitutional channels.

4. Because the plea, upon which this measure is avowedly founded, viz. that of necessity arising from the existing state of things in this kingdom, together with the causes, which are considered as having conduced thereto, is as I conceive, with regard to the necessity of the measure merely factitious in this, that each and every of those causes as to times past, together with every possible consequence as to times to come, might have been, as was suggested, for ever effectually done away, and

prevented by an act of the Irish parliament alone, "declaring
"and enacting the rightful supremacy of the British state as to
"all matters of imperial, external concern, upon terms of equal
"benefit to Ireland as to Great Britain, said act further declaring
"and enacting, that as Ireland did by original compact derive
"the benefits and enjoyment of the British constitution, com-
"municated and guaranteed to her upon terms of her mainte-
"nance thereof, and conformity thereto, the parliament of
"Ireland does for ever disclaim all right, faculty, and power of
"altering as to herself, without the express consent of the Bri-
"tish state, and of the fundamental principles of the constitu-
"tion, whether as originally established, or as since modified,"
that as the adjustment respecting the act of navigation and chan-
nel trade, as likewise the adoption and adjustment of a contri-
bution on the part of Ireland, have from their nature required,
that they be regulated and carried into effect by the respective
parliaments of the respective kingdoms, as established previous
to the passing of this bill, and until it receive the royal assent, it
cannot be assumed, even by the most daring assertion, that
those measures could not be validated, and for ever rendered
to all intents and purposes alike authentic and permanent, al-
though this bill were for ever to fall to the ground, thus steering
clear of the manifold, obvious, and unforeseen dangers insepa-
rable from experimental projects on such vital points, reno-
vating the spirit and faculties, without innovating upon the
principles or organization of that imperial constitution of the
united kingdom, which for more than six hundred years has
stood the shock of time and event. A constitution so founded,
upon an union of interests and sentiments, that it has given to
each kingdom such rapid prosperity and solid resources, and to
the empire at large, such unexampled energy and authority as
have enabled her to stand the unshaken bulwark of religion, civil
government, and social order, even at this awful period, when
the greater part of the civilized world suffers under the ineffable
horrors of innovation, revolution, and intestine warfare, without
any apparent practicable object or termination to their self-
extirpating distractions. And finally, because in whatever
point of view I consider this bill, whether as referring to the
monarchy, the aristocracy, or the representation, and people of
both kingdoms, throughout every department and order of the
entire state, upon the most mature consideration directed for a
series of years to this great subject, and to all its relative bearings,
tendencies, and consequences, I do most strongly apprehend
that this bill will, in its operation and effects, prove alike injurious
to all, and that it will so undermine the confidence even of the
well-disposed in this kingdom, that the utmost influence which
will remain to such of the nobility, first rate gentry, and other

persons of high character, and to this of personal weight, who shall continue to reside therein, will prove ineffectual to prevent the abatement of those affections, and of that zeal, which from the nature and formation of the human mind, ever rise or sink in proportion to that confidence, on which they are founded. For which reasons, together with many others, which it is not my object to enumerate or to set forth, and which are, I fear, already too deeply and impulsively felt by almost the entire kingdom, I feel it incumbent upon me, in assertion of my national pride and personal character, in justice to my political consistency and personal honour, to transmit to posterity this my solemn protest against this dereliction of national right, the degradation of national dignity.

BELLAMONT.

DISSENTIENT.

TO that clause in the bill recited in the fourth article, which makes it competent to the peers of Ireland to be elected members of the House of Commons of the united kingdom as the representatives of places in Great Britain.

1. Because, as the peers of Ireland are after the Union to enjoy all the privileges of the peers of Great Britain, (with the exception of sitting in the House of Lords) it gives to the counties and boroughs of Great Britain the power of choosing a representative from the peers, and is therefore an anomaly in the constitution.

2. Because I consider the peerage to be degraded thereby, inasmuch as the peer so elected must divest himself of the rights and privileges of the peerage, and assume the condition of a commoner.

3. Because I conceive it to be repugnant to a fixed principle of the constitution, that the peerage with the privileges incident thereto, constitute an indefeasible inheritance, and cannot be surrendered.

4. Because it creates a confusion of the orders of the state, enabling the subject, being a peer, to act in the capacity of a commoner, and then upon his ceasing to be a representative of the commons, to return to his condition of a peer.

Impressed with such considerations, I cannot refrain from recording my opinion thereupon, although these provisions to which I dissent make part of a measure, to the remainder of which I have given every support, and which, considered as to its general scope, and its other relations, will, I am convinced, be productive of the greatest advantages to Ireland, at the same time that it will increase the strength, the security, and the resources of the British empire.

GLANDORE.

No. CXXII.

A CORRECT LIST OF ALL THE WRITS ISSUED WITH A VIEW TO PARLIAMENTARY ARRANGEMENTS
IN IRELAND, IN THE YEAR 1800...PAGE 316.

No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
1	Ardert	Lorenzo Moore, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	1800
2	—	John Talbot, Esq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 15
3	Armagh, county	Lord Viscount Caulfield	Earl of Charlemont	Aug. 1
4	Athboy	Hugh Howard, Esq.	Deceased	Jan. 15- Ibid.
5	Athlone	Theophilus Blakeney, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	April 13
6	Ballynakill	William Blakeney, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	May 13
7	—	Sir Rich. Bligh St. George	Escheator of Ulster	Jan. 15
8	—	Hon. Montague Matthew	Escheator of Munster	March 1
9	Banagher	David Walshe, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	May 28
10	Bannow	Edward Hoare, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
11	—	Robert Shaw, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	March 1
12	Belfast	Major-Gen. Wm. Loftus	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Ibid.
13	—	George Crookshank, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
14	Belturbet	Alexander Hamilton, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
15	Blessington	Charles King, Esq.	Deceased	Jan. 15
16	Carrick	Rt. Hon. R. Annesley, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 20
17	—	William Gore, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Jan. 17
18	Carysfort	Nathaniel Sneyd, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Ibid.
19	Castlebar	Robert Aldridge, Esq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 20
20	Castlemartyr	Thomas Lindsay, sen.	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
21	Charleville	John Townshend, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Jan. 17
22	Clogher	Hon. Charles Boyle	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 14
23	—	Jonah Barrington, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 17
24	Clonmel	Thomas Burgh, Esq.	Commissioner of Account	Ibid.
	—	Thomas Newenham, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 18

APPENDIX.

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No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
25	Clonmines	Henry Luttrell, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	1800
26	Cork, city	Mountiford Longfield, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Jan. 15
27	Dingle-Icough	William Monsell, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
28	Donegal, borough	Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris	Lord Baron Frankfort	Aug. 2
29	Donegal	Colonel Hugh O'Donnell	Deceased	Jan. 15
30	Duneraile	Hon. Barry Boyle St. Leger	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
31	Duleek	Ch. Mont. Ormsby, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Jan. 15
32	Dungannon	Rich. Fortes. Sharkey, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	July 18
33	Dunluer	Henry Coddington, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 5
34	Ennis	J. Ormsby Vandeleur, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	July 15
35	Enniscorthy	Robert Cornwall, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Ibid.
36	Enniskillen	Thomas Whaley, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	June 21
37	Fethard	Hon. Col. Galbraith Lowry Cole	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 18
38	Fore	George H. Read, Esq.	Port Surveyor of Wexford	Jan. 15
39	Galway, county	Sir John Tydd, Bart.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 3
40	Garrard	Joseph Henry Blake, Esq.	Lord Baron Wallscourt	Aug. 1
41	Gowran	George Bunbury, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	March 28
42	Hillsborough	Geo. Fulke Lyttleton, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
43	Kells	Wm. Montgomery, Esq.	Deceased	Ibid.
44	Kerry, county	Robert Johnson, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Jan. 20
45	Kilbeggan	Hon. Robert Taylor	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
46	Killybeggan	Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Ibid.
47	Killyleagh	Sir Fran. Hopkins, Bart.	Escheator of Munster	Ibid.
48	Knocktopher	Hans Blackwood, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 13
49	Knocktopher	Sir George Shee, Bart.	Secretary to the Commissioners of the Treasury	Jan. 15
50	Knocktopher	Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart.	Escheator of Munster	March 10
51	Lanesborough	Thomas Staples, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	April 13
52	Londonderry, co.	Richard Martin, Esq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Aug. 1
53	Longford, borough	Rt. Hon. Thos. Conolly	Escheator of Munster	May 8
54	Longford, borough	Hon. Edw. Packenham	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	March 28
55	Maryborough	General Eyre Coote	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 18

APPENDIX.

No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	1800
56	Meath, county	Hon. Clotworthy Rowley	Aug. 1
57	Middleton	General Cradock	April 12
58	Monaghan, borough	William Fortescue, Esq.	Jan. 18
59	Monaghan, co.	Ch. Powell Leslie, Esq.	Aug. 1
60	Naas	Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson	Jan. 15
61	Newtownards	Robert Alexander, Esq.	Jan. 20
62	Philipstown	Robert Crowe, Esq.	Jan. 15
63		Francis Knox, Esq.	Ibid.
64	Portarlington	Thomas Stannus, Esq.	Jan. 20
65	Roscommon, borough	Hen. Moore Sandford, Esq.	Aug. 1
66	{ St. Johnstown, co. Donegal	Rt. Hon. Wm. Forward	Jan. 20
67	{ St. Johnstown, co. Longford	Hon. Wm. Moore	Jan. 15
68	Thomastown	George Dunbar, Esq.	March 6
69		James Kearney, Esq.	March 28
70		Hon. Ch. Wm. Stuart	May 8
71		Hon. Walter Yelverton	Jan. 15
72	Tuam	John Bingham, Esq.	Feb. 8
73	Tulsk	Anthony Botel, Esq.	Jan. 20
74	Wexford, co.	Lord Viscount Loftus	Aug. 1
75	Wexford, town	James Boyd, Esq.	Jan. 15
76	Wicklow, borough	Daniel Gahan, Esq.	Ibid.
77	Youghall	Robert Uniacke, Esq.	Ibid.
		Lord Baron Longford	
		Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	
		Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	
		Deceased	
		Collector of Dublin Port	
		Escheator of Ulster	
		Escheator of Munster	
		King's Counsel	
		Escheator of Leinster	
		Lord Baron Sandford	
		Treasurer of the Post Office	
		Escheator of Munster	
		Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	
		Escheator of Munster	
		Escheator of Ulster	
		Cursitor of the Court of Chancery	
		Escheator of Munster	
		Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	
		Commissioner of the Treasury	
		Collector of Wexford Port	
		Deceased	
		Surveyor General of the Ordnance	

Irish Parliament Annuities.

The following is the list of the annuities voted by the parliament of Ireland, to the several persons under-named, for their respective lives, to the amount affixed to their respective names, net, without any deduction or abatement whatsoever, as a compensation for their respective losses by reason of the discontinuance of their emoluments or offices as officers or attendants of the two houses of parliament.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
John, Earl of Clare, lord chancellor, speaker	3973	3	4
John, Earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees	1443	6	0
Edmond Henry, Lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery	379	10	0
William Meek, Esq. clerk of the parliament	2705	16	0
Thomas Lindsay, Esq. usher of the black rod	964	9	9
Edward Westby, Thomas Walker, Wm. Hornn, and S. King, Esqs. masters in chancery, each	104	4	2
Joseph Gayer, Esq. deputy clerk of the parliament	631	13	4
Thomas Bouchier, Esq. deputy clerk of the crown in chancery	101	2	1
Joseph Gregg, Esq. clerk of assizes	786	12	4
Joseph Griffith, Esq. reading clerk	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, Esq. serjeant at arms	314	2	2
Richard C. Smith, jun. Esq. committee clerk	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, Esq. journal clerk	287	7	6
B. Connor, Esq. yeoman usher	243	16	6
W. Walker, Esq. add. clerk	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament office	74	10	8
W. Corbett, door-keeper to the speaker's chamber	105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompson, and G. Payn, door-keepers, each	92	2	8
P. Long, W. Cavendish, M. Quinan, and J. Tobin, messengers, each	91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house	877	18	9
Mary Foster, house-keeper	472	18	11
Mary Anne Foster, house maid	30	9	6
Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster king at arms	290	19	5
Philip O'Bryen, gate-keeper	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the speaker's chamber	50	0	0
Henry Welbore, Viscount Clifden, clerk of the council	181	13	4
Henry Upton, Esq. deputy do.	104	8	11
Jos. Patrickson, Esq. deputy clerk, usher of the council-chamber, and solicitor for turnpike-bills	421	9	5

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. William M'Kay, assistant clerk of the council	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, door-keeper and council-office keeper	14	8	2
John Dwyer, Esq. secretary to the lord chancellor	29	2	8
John Beresford, Esq. purse bearer to do.	14	11	2
Andrew Bowen, water porter	4	11	0
Right Honourable John Foster, speaker of the House of Commons	583	8	4
Henry Alexander, Esq. chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, Bart. clerk of the house	2263	13	2½
Edward Cooke, clerk of the house in reversion	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and William F. M'Clintock, Esqs. serjeants at arms, including 100% on the civil list	1200	0	0
Edward Tresham, clerk assistant	594	6	10
G. F. Winstanley, and Jonathan Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
D. Ellis, superin. engrossing clerk	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engrossing clerk	398	7	0
T. Richardson, assistant do.	150	0	0
William Ratferty, clerk in the chief clerk's office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees	470	0	0
H. Coddington, Esq. deputy serjeant at arms	350	0	0
James Corry, Esq. clerk of the journals and records	660	0	0
John Smith, assistant do.	230	0	0
R. Connor, attending clerk	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief	100	0	0
John Judd, assistant clerk in the chief clerk's office	63	6	8
J. L. Foster, Esq. speaker's secretary	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, messenger	68	0	0
R. Burnside and R. Fleming, back-door keepers, each	48	0	0
John Dogherty, and D. Smith, messengers, each	46	0	0
L. Dunlevey, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brenan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carson, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each	36	0	0
J. Bannen, do.	51	18	6
W. Brown, distributor of votes	130	0	0
Sarah Connor, house-keeper	401	13	2
John Kennedy and John Walker, front door-keepers, each	168	4	9½
Mary Connor, house attendant	4	11	0
T. Seavers, fire-lighter	11	7	6

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
R. Watham, do. - - - - -	6	16	6
Lord Viscount Glentworth, clerk of the crown and hanaper - - - - -	181	8	6½
T. Bouchier, deputy do. - - - - -	52	5	6
John Beresford, Esq. purse bearer to the lord chancellor - - - - -	33	18	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house - - - - -	140	0	0

An account of Gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796, to the present time, distinguishing the quantity in each year.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Quantity coined in pound weight.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
1796 from Michaelmas - 3,480 -	162,603	9 0
1797 - - 42,810 -	2,000,297	5 0
1798 - - 63,510 -	2,967,504	15 0
1799 - - 9,630 -	449,961	15 0
1800 to the 20th November 4,065 -	189,937	2 6
Total - lb. 123,498	£ 5,760,303	17 6

HAWKESBURY, Master.

Mint Office, 20th November, 1800.

A Correct List of the Anti-Unionists and Unionists.

ANTI-UNIONISTS.

Hon. A. Acheson	Sir Richard Butler	Francis Dobbs
W. C. Alcock	Peter Burrowes	John Egan
W. H. Armstrong	John Bagwell	Geo. Evans
Mervyn Archdal	John Bagwell, jun.	R. L. Edgworth
David Babbington	Wm. Bagwell	Sir J. Freke, Bart.
John Ball	Lord Visc. Corry	Fred. John Falkiner
J. C. Beresford	Lord Clements	Rt. Hon. Jas. Fitzgerald
Wm. Burton	Lord Cole	Wm. Charles Fortescue
Charles Bushe	Jos. Ed. Cooper	Hon. Thos. Foster
Wm. Blakeney	R. S. Carew	Arthur French
H. V. Brooke	D. B. Daly	Chiches. Fortescue
Col. J. Maxwell Barry	Noah Dalway	Sir T. Fetherston
Blayne Balfour	Rich. Dawson T.	
	Arthur Dawson	

Hamilton Gorges	Lord Mathew	Wm. P. Ruxton
Henry Grattan	John Metge	John Reilly
Thomas Gould	Step. Moore, Clon-	W. E. Reilly
Hans Hamilton	mell	Clotworthy Rowley
Edward Hardman	John Moore	S. C. Rowley
Francis Hardy	Thomas Mahon	W. Rowley
Sir Joseph Hoare	Charles O'Hara	Francis Saunderson
Hon. A. C. Hamil-	Sir Ed. O'Brien	W. Smyth....West-
ton	Jas. M. O'Donnell	meath
Wm. Hoare Hume	Hon. W. O'Callag-	James Stewart
Edward Hoare	han	Hon. W. J. Skeffing-
H. Irvin	Rt. Hon. G. Ogle	ton
Gilbert King	Henry Osborne	Francis Savage T.
John King	Joseph Preston	Francis Synge
Hon. Robert King	Sir John Parnell	Robert Shaw
Hon. G. Knox	Henry Parnell	Wm. Saurin
Rt. Hon. H. King	Wm. C. Plunket	Sir R. St. George
Gustavus Lambart	Rt. Hon. Wm. B.	William Tighe
John Latouche	Ponsonby	Henry Tighe
John Latouche, jun.	J. B. Ponsonby	John Taylor
Robert Latouche	Maj. W. Ponsonby	Thomas Townshend
Chas. Powel Leslie	George Ponsonby	Charles Vereker T.
Edward Lee	Sir Lau. Parsons	Owen Wynne
Sir Thos. Lighton	Richard Power	John Waller
Lord Maxwell	Gustavus Rochfort	E. D. Wilson
Alex. Montgomery	John St. Rochfort	Nic. Westby
Sir J. Macartney	Sir W. Richardson	John Wolfe
Arthur Moore	Wm. Ruxton	Thomas Whaley

UNIONISTS.

H. Alexander	Rt. Hon. D. Brown	Col. R. C. Cope
Hon. D. Alexander	T.	Gen. Cradock
R. Archdall	Stewart Bruce	James Crosbie
Rt. Hon. Rich. An-	George Burdet	E. Cooke
nesley	G. Bunbury	C. H. Coote
Wm. Bailey	Arthur Browne	Rt. H. Isaac Corry
Rt. Hon. J. Beres-	Thomas Bligh	Sir J. Cotter
ford	Edward Bligh	R. Cotter
J. Beresford, jun.	Hon. J. Butler	W. A. Crosbie
Col. M. Beresford	Lord Castlereagh	Hon. A. Creighton
J. Bingham	G. Cavendish	Hon. J. Creighton
Jos. Henry Blake	Sir H. Cavendish	J. Cuffe
Sir J. S. Blackwood	Sir Broderick Chin-	St. G. Daly
Sir J. Blaquiére	nery	Pat. Duigenan
Hon. Col. Burton	James Cane	William Elliot
Lord Boyle	Thomas Casey	General Eustace

Major Eustace	Rt. H. Sir H. Lan-	R. Penefather
Lord Charles Fitz-	grishe	Col. Edw. Packen-
gerald	Thomas Lindsay,	ham
Rt. Hon. Wm. For-	jun.	Thos. Prendergast
ward	John Longfield	Thomas Pepper
Sir C. Fortescue	Capt. J. Longfield	Sir Richard Quin
A. Ferguson	Montiford Longfield	Sir Boyle Roche
Luke Fox	Lord Loftus	G. H. Reade
Faithful Fortescue	General Lake	R. Rutlege
R. U. Fitzgerald	Rt. Hon. D. La-	Hon. C. Rowley
J. Galbraith	touché	Abel Ram
H. D. Grady	General Loftus	Hon. H. Skeffington
Wm. Gregory	Francis Leigh	W. Smith
General Gardiner	Francis M'Namara	H. M. Sandford
Wm. Gore	Ross Mahon	Edmond Stanley
Richard Hare	Richard Martin	John Staples
Wm. Hare	Rt. Hon. J. M. Ma-	John Stewart
Gen. B. Henniker	son	John Stratton
Peter Holmes	H. D. Massey	Hon. J. Stratford
G. Hatton	E. A. M'Naghton	R. Sharkey
Hon. M. G. Hutch-	S. Moore	Sir George Shee
inson	N. M. Moore	J. Savage
Hon. F. H. Hutch-	Rt. Hon. Lodge Mor-	Col. Singleton
inson	ris	Rt. Hon. J. Toler
Hugh Howard	Sir R. Musgrave	Frederick Trench
Wm. Handcock	James M'Clelland	Earl of Tyrone
John Hobson	Col. Charles M'Don-	Chas. Tottenham
Sir Vere Hunt	nell	Hon. Richard Trench
Richard Herbert	Richard Magennis	—Chas. Trench
Col. G. Jackson	G. Miller	Wm. Talbot
Denh. Jephson	James Mahon	P. Tottenham
Hon. J. Jocelyn	Edward May	John Townsend
W. Jones	John M'Clean	Robert Tighe
Theophilus Jones	Thomas Nesbitt	Robert Uniacke
Major Geo. Jackson	Sir Wm. Newcomen	James Verner
Wm. Johnson	Richard Neville	J. O. Vandaleur
Robert Johnson	William Odell	Colonel Wemys
John Keane	Charles Osborne	Henry Westenra
James Kearney	J. M. Ormsby	Benjamin B. Wood-
Henry Kemmis	C. M. Ormsby	ward
William Knott	T. Packenham	Hon. R. Ward
James Knox	John Preston	P. Walsh
Andrew Knox	H. S. Prittie	

No. CXXIII.

[PAGE 316.]

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

2d JULY 1800.

WHEREAS in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved, that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenour following:

Article I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies; and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Art. II. That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and

Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Art. III. That it be the third article of Union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled *The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom :

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established :

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be :

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the House of Lords of the

united kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged:

That it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom:

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed there.

of: and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the united kingdom, reported to his majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland:

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient:

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of parliament of the united kingdom:

That when his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the parliament of the united kingdom:

That if his majesty, on or before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parlia-

ment of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain ; then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain ; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom ; and such first parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved : provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom ; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty ; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house ; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons in the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain :

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain ; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain ; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and im-

mediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted); and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the united kingdom, so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted:

Art. V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland:

Art. VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have

the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain :

That, from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine ; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export :

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties), shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule number One A. and B. hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided ; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule number Two hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule number Two ; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland : Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland ; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject :

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight ; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one ; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen :

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule number one, A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture:

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: Provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great

Britain into Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

(A.) *On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

Beer.... For every barrel consisting of thirty-six gallons, English beer measure, of Irish beer, ale, or mum, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof, 8s. excise.

Bricks and Tiles.... For every thousand of Irish bricks, 5s. excise.

For every thousand of Irish plain tiles, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish pan or ridge tiles, 12s. 10d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches square, 2s. 5d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles exceeding ten inches square, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish tiles, other than such as are hereinbefore enumerated and described, by whatsoever name or names such tiles are or may be called or known, 4s. 10d. excise.

Candles.... For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles of tallow, and other candles whatsoever (except wax and spermaceti), 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles, which may be made of wax or spermaceti, or which are usually called or sold either for wax or spermaceti, notwithstanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith, 3½d. excise.

Chocolate, &c..... For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish cocoa, cocoa paste, or chocolate, 2s. excise.

Cordage; videlicet.... To be used as standing rigging, or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 10s. 3d. customs.

Of any other sort, cable yarn, packthread, and twine, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 4s. 4d. customs.

Cyder and Perry.... For every hogshead, consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish cyder and perry, which shall be imported as merchandize or for sale, and which shall be sent or consigned to any factor or agent to sell or dispose of, 19s. 2d. excise.

Glass.. For every square foot superficial measure of Irish plate glass, 2s. 2½d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish flint, enamel, stained, paste, or phial glass, 2l. 3s. 6d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish spread window glass, commonly called broad glass, 8s. 1d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish window glass (not being spread glass) whether flashed or otherwise manufactured, and

commonly called or known by the name of *crown glass*, or *German sheet glass*, 1*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* excise.

For every hundred weight of vessels made use of in chemical laboratories, and of garden glasses, and of all other vessels or utensils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, 4*s.* 0*½d.* excise.

For every hundred weight of any sort or species of Irish glass, not herein-before enumerated or described, 2*l.* 2*s.* excise.

Bottles of common green glass, the dozen quarts, 9*d.* customs.

Hops....For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hops, 1*½d.* excise.

Leather, unmanufactured....For every pound weight avoirdupois of hides, of what kind soever, and of calf skins, kips, hog skins, dog skins, and seal skins, tanned in Ireland, and of sheep skins and lamb skins so tanned for gloves and bazils, which shall be imported in the whole hide or skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1*½d.* excise.

For every dozen of goat skins tanned in Ireland to resemble Spanish leather, 4*s.* excise.

For every dozen of sheep skins tanned in Ireland for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, 2*s.* 3*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides or skins not herein-before enumerated and described, and of all pieces and parts of hides or skins which shall be tanned in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

For all hides of horses, mares, and geldings, which shall be dressed in allum and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 1*s.* 6*d.* excise.

For all hides of steers, cows, or any other hides of what kind soever (those of horses, mares, and geldings excepted) which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 3*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all calf skins, kips, seal skins, which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1*½d.* excise.

For every dozen of slink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed with the hair on, in Ireland, 3*s.* excise.

For every dozen of slink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed without hair, in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog skins and kid skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 1*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of buck and doe skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 6*d.* excise.

For every dozen of goat skins and beaver skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 2*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of sheep skins and lamb skins which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1½*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated and described, and of all pieces or parts of hides or skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, deer, and elk skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 3*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, and parts and pieces of hides and skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

For every dozen of Irish vellum, 3*s.* 5½*d.* excise.

For every dozen of Irish parchment, 1*s.* 8½*d.* excise.

*Leather....*manufactured into goods and wares:

For every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods or wares in Ireland, 1½*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish made boots and shoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dressed leather, 1*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, 1*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, 3*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

Mead or Metheglin.... For every gallon, English wine measure, of Irish mead or metheglin, 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

Paper.... For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish paper, fit or proper, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Irish elephant papers and cartridge papers, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish coloured papers and whitened brown papers (other than and except elephant and cartridge papers) fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish brown paper, fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses and purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every sort or kind of Irish paper, not herein-before enumerated or described, sheathing, and button paper and button board excepted, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, 10s. 6d. excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish glazed papers for clothiers and hot pressers, 6s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of books, bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, 2d. excise.

Printed Goods.... For every yard square of Irish printed, painted, or stained papers, to serve for hangings, or other uses, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of foreign calicoes and foreign muslins, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Ireland (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour), over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of foreign calicoes and muslins, 7d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, painted, stained or dyed Irish made calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, made either of cotton or linen, mixed with other materials, fustians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured stuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton wool (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only), 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed Irish made stuffs not before enumerated or described (except such as shall be dyed through-

out of one colour only, and except stuffs made of woollen, or whereof the greatest part in value shall be woollen), $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning half yard wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silks, (silk handkerchiefs excepted) over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of silk, $1s. 1\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every yard square of Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silk handkerchiefs, and so in proportion for wide or narrow silk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of customs payable on silk, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

*Salt....*For every bushel, consisting of fifty-six pound weight avoirdupois, of Irish salt, or Irish Glauber or Irish Epsom's salt, $10s.$ excise.

For every bushel, consisting of sixty-five pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish rock salt, $10s.$ excise.

*Silk....*Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $5s.$ customs.

*Note....*Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape, is to be deducted for gum and dress.

Silk and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $6s. 8d.$ customs.

Silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching or sewing silk, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $3s.$ customs.

Silk, manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated or described, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $4s.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 2d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with incle or cotton, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 8d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk and worsted, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $10d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 3d.$ customs.

*Soap....*For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hard, cake, or ball soap, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight of Irish soft soap, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

*Spirits, British....*For every gallon, English wine measure, of spirits, Aqua Vitæ, or strong waters, which shall be distilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a strength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, $5s. 1\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

*Note....*Spirits above the strength of one to ten will be charged in proportion; and on sweetened or compounded spirits, the duty will be computed upon the highest degree of strength at which such spirits can be made.

*Starch....*For every pound weight of Irish starch or hair powder, of what kind soever, $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Sugars....Refined; *videlicet*, called *Bastards*, whole or ground, the hundred weight, 18s. 2d. customs.

Lumps the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0½d. customs.

Single loaf, the hundred weight, 1l. 16s. 4d. customs.

Powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0¾d. customs.

Sugar candy, white, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sugar, refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sweets....For every barrel, consisting of thirty-one gallons and a half, English wine measure, of Irish sweets, or other Irish liquor, made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other materials or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called *sweets*, or called or distinguished by the name of *made wines*, 2l. 2s. excise.

Tobacco and Snuff....For every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Ireland, over and above any duty of customs, 1s. 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, 1s. 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured shag tobacco, 1s. 5½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured roll tobacco, 1s. 7d.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured carrot tobacco, 1s. 5½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort of Irish manufactured tobacco, not herein-before enumerated or described 1s. 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured rappee snuff, 1s. 4½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured Scotch snuff, 1s. 10½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured brown Scotch snuff, 1s. 3½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured tobacco stalk flour, 1s. 9d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort or kind of Irish manufactured snuff, or snuff-work, not herein before enumerated or described, 1s. 10½d. excise.

Tobacco unmanufactured, the pound, 6¼d. customs.

Verjuice....For every hogshead consisting of sixty-three gallons, English wine measure, of Irish verjuice, 7s. 8d. excise.

*Vinegar....*For every barrel consisting of thirty-four gallons, English beer measure, of Irish vinegar, 12s. 8½d. excise.

*Wire....*For every ounce troy weight of Irish gilt wire, 9½d. excise.

For every ounce troy of Irish silver wire, 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 7s. 8d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish silver thread, silver lace, or silver fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 5s. 9d. excise.

(B.) *On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

*Beer....*For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons, imported from Great Britain, 4s. 6d.

*Glass Bottles....*For and upon each reputed quart, 0½d.

*Leather, unmanufactured....*For and upon each pound in every hide or skin, or piece of any such hide or skin of what kind or denomination soever, other than such as are herein-after mentioned and described, 1d.

For and upon each hide of horses, mares, or geldings, 1s.

For and upon all skins, called veal skins and all skins of hogs, for every dozen skins thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 5s.

For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and all seal skins, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 2s. 6d.

For and upon all skins for bookbinders use, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 1s.

For and upon all goat skins tanned with shumack, or otherwise to resemble Spanish leather, and all sheep skins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 1d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins tanned for gloves and bazils, for every pound weight avoirdupois, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 0½d.

*Leather, dressed in oil....*For and upon every hide and skin, and piece of such hide and skin, other than such as are herein after mentioned or described, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all deer skins, goat skins, and beaver skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 3d.

For and upon all calf skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 0½d.

*Vellum and Parchment....*For and upon every dozen skins of vellum, 6*d*.

For and upon every dozen skins of parchment, 3*d*.

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares....For and upon all tanned leather manufactured into goods and wares, whereof leather is the most valuable part, the following duties; *vide licet*,

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tawed or dressed leather, manufactured and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 3*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 0½*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 2*d*.

*Paper....*For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of paper, fit or proper for, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper, and all cartridge paper, 2½*d*.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all coloured paper, and whited-brown papers, other than and except elephant and cartridge paper, fit or proper for the uses or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and also except paper hangings, 1*d*.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of brown paper, fit and proper for the use or purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 0½*d*.

For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hotpressers, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 5*s*.

For and upon every hundred weight of pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 10s.

For and upon every pound weight of every sort or kind of paper, not herein-before particularly enumerated or described, other than and except papers commonly called or known by the names of sheathing paper, and button paper or button board, and paper hangings, $2\frac{1}{2}d$.

Stained Paper.... For and upon every square yard of printed, painted, or stained paper, for hangings or other uses, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 1d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of books bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain, 2d.

Cards.... For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards, made or manufactured in Great Britain, 1s. 5d.

And a further duty of $2\frac{1}{2}d$. per pound weight.

Dice.... For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain, 10s.

Wrought Plate.... For and upon every ounce troy weight of gold or silver plate, which shall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland.

Silk Manufacture.... For and upon all silks being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties; *videlicet*,

For and upon all ribbons and stuffs of silks only, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 1d.

For and upon all silks and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 9d.

For and upon all silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching and sewing silk, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d.

For and upon all manufactures of silk not otherwise enumerated or described, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 6d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with incl or cotton, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 9d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 4d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, $6\frac{1}{2}d$.

Spirits.... For and upon every gallon of spirits, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of 3s. 7d.

Sugar, refined.... of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet*.

For and upon all sugar called bastards, white or ground, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 19s. 8d.

For and upon all sugar called lumps, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

For and upon all sugar called single loaf sugar, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 19s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, white, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar refined of any other sort, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

Sweets.... For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons wine measure, of British sweets, or other British liquor made by infusion, fermentation or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines, 10s.

For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, 4d.

For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons, of vinegar, 3s.

Tobacco and Snuff.... For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of customs now payable, 5d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, 1s. 0 $\frac{7}{16}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured shag tobacco cut, 11d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured roll tobacco, 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{16}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured carrot tobacco, 11d.

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort of British manufactured tobacco not herein-before enumerated or described, 1s. 0 $\frac{7}{16}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of British manufactured rappee snuff, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called Scotch snuff, 1s. 4d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called brown Scotch snuff, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured stalk flour, 1s. 3d.

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort or kind of British manufactured snuff, or snuff work, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1s. 4d.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

Apparel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinet ware	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coaches and other carriages	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Copper, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cottons, other than callico ^e s and muslins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Glass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haberdashery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tin plates, wrought iron and hard ware	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gold and silver lace, gold and silver thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and spangles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Millinery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paper stained	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pottery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saddlery and other manufactured leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Silk manufacture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stockings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ten pounds *per cent.* on the true value.

Art. VII. That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as herein-after provided :

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland ; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which

either country shall be separately liable) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average; viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the

benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in ease of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all monies to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be

necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed ; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country : that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct : that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require : provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom ; and provided that, from and after the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majesty, his majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same ; and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of

such measures as may be necessary, for giving effect to the said articles; in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that, before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas an act, intituled, "An Act to regulate the Mode by which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the Part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament," has been passed by the parliament of Ireland; the tenor whereof is as follows: an act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following; that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords of the united parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees: that the primate of

all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom, the archbishop of Dublin for the time being in the second, the archbishop of Cashel for the time being in the third, and the Archbishop of Tuam for the time being in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions for ever, such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament: that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session in the following order; the Lord bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Lord Bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, the Lord Bishop of Dromore in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Elphin, the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Killybegs, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Lord Bishop of Killybegs and Achonry, the Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom from time to time as is herein-after provided: that the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner hereafter provided; that each of the said lords temporal so chosen shall be entitled to sit in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life; and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein-after provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz. for each county of Ireland two; for the city of Dublin two; for the city of Cork two; for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one; for the city of Waterford one; for the city of Limerick one; for the borough of Belfast one; for the county and town of Drogheda one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus one; for the borough of Newry one; for the city of Kilkenny one; for the city of Londonderry one; for the town of Galway one; for the borough of Clonmell one; for the town of Wexford-

one; for the town of Youghall one; for the town of Bandon Bridge one; for the borough of Armagh one; for the borough of Dundalk one; for the town of Kinsale one; for the borough of Lisburn one; for the borough of Sligo one; for the borough of Catherlough one; for the borough of Ennis one; for the borough of Dungarvan one; for the borough of Downpatrick one; for the borough of Colrairie one; for the town of Mallow one; for the borough of Athlone one; for the town of New Ross one; for the borough of Tralee one; for the city of Cashel one; for the borough of Dungannon one; for the borough of Portarlinton one: for the borough of Enniskillen one. And 'be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elsewhere, (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom;) and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in such election or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and pramunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for establishing the Union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, and the Lord Bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the House of Lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, in the following manner; that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his

deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and each of the said peers, who, previous to the said day, and in the present parliament shall have actually taken his seat in the House of Lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland before they can sit and vote in the parliament hereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or by his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the House of Lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof) to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy (who shall then and there attend for that purpose,) a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown or his deputy shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to the House of Lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the second list, for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected; and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of

Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued, by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote at such elections, shall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or after the Union by the house of lords of the united kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed; and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the teste of the writ, to return the same into the crown office of Ireland with the blank filled up, by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote, as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture as aforesaid; and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice, that is, once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms; and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the crown office of Ireland, and the other part shall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom; and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the House of Lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the united kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland: and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin gazettes,

a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes; and the peer so chosen shall during his life, be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament shall be deemed the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case, during the life of such spiritual peer being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords shall proceed to the next spiritual lord, without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation, and if such spiritual lord shall be a suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation. And whereas by the said fourth article of Union it is agreed, that, if his majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain, shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that case only that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town

of Galway, borough of Clonmell, town of Wexford, town of Youghall, town of Bandon-Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburne, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvon, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlinton, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the House of Commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs, shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whose names shall have been so drawn: Provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot: in which case, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs, at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express, in such return, whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect; and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the House of Commons of the parlia-

ment of the united kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn, by lot, in such manner and time as the said House of commons shall direct; and the person whose name shall be so drawn shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; but if, at the time aforesaid, no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the House of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons of parliament of the united kingdom. And be it enacted, that the whenever his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall, by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the Great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom, according to the numbers herein-before set forth; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons or the parliament of the united kingdom, for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise, by death or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified by them respectively, by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy; and such writ, and the returns thereon, respectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the House of Commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said writs and returns, attested by the chancellor, keeper or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost; be it enacted, that the said act, so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same.

III. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland may, if his majesty shall so think fit, after the Union, be used in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that his majesty may so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

No. CXXIV.

SECOND PROCLAMATION ON THE UNION....PAGE 324.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, by the first article of the articles of Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one made in our parliament of Great Britain, and the other in our parliament of Ireland, it was provided, that the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, should be such as we should appoint by our royal proclamation under the great seal of our said united kingdom; and whereas we have by our royal proclamation, dated this day, appointed and declared, that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom should be as therein expressed, and whereas, according to ancient usage, the ensigns, flags, jacks, and pendants, worn by our ships, and appointed as a distinction for the same, ought not to be worn on board any ship or vessel belonging to any of our subjects, so that our ships and those of our subjects may be easily distinguished and known: We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order and appoint the ensigns, described on the side or margin hereof, to be worn on board all ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects whatsoever; and to issue this our royal proclamation to notify the same to all our loving subjects, hereby strictly charging and commanding the masters of all merchant ships and vessels belonging to any of our subjects, whether employed in our service or otherwise, and all other persons whom it may concern, to wear the said ensign on board their ships or vessels. And to the end that none of our subjects may presume, on board their ships, to wear our flags, jacks, and pendants, which according to ancient usage have been appointed as a distinction to our ships; or any flags, jacks, or pendants, in shape and mixture of colours so far resembling ours as not to be easily distinguished therefrom: We do with the advice of our privy council, hereby strictly charge and command all our subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume to wear, in any of their ships or vessels, our jack commonly called the union jack, nor any pendants, nor any such colours as are usually borne by our ships, without particular warrant for their so doing from us, or our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of high admiral for the

time being : And we do hereby also further command all our loving subjects, that, without such warrant as aforesaid, they presume not to wear on board their ships or vessels any flags, jacks, pendants, or colours, made in imitation of or resembling ours, or any kind of pendant whatsoever, or any other ensign than the ensign described on the side or margin hereof, which shall be worn instead of the ensign before this time usually worn in merchant ships ; saving, that for the better distinction of such ships as shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals against the enemy, and any other ships or vessels which may be employed by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners of our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, our royal will and pleasure is, that all such ships as have commissions or letters of marque or reprisals shall, besides the colours or ensign hereby appointed to be worn by merchant ships, wear a red jack with a union jack, described in a canton at the upper corner thereof next the staff ; and that such ships and vessels as shall be employed for our service by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners for our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, shall wear a red jack, with a union jack in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff as aforesaid, and in the other part of the said jack shall be described the seal used in such of the respective offices aforesaid, by which the said ships and vessels shall be employed. And we do strictly charge and command, that none of our loving subjects do presume to wear any of the said distinction jacks, unless they shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals, or be employed in our service by any of the before-mentioned officers. And we hereby require our high admiral, and commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, the governors of our forts and castles, the officers of our customs, and the commanders or officers of any of our ships for the time being, upon their meeting with, or otherwise observing any ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects, neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed to be borne as aforesaid, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary hereunto, whether at sea or in port, not only to seize, or cause to be forthwith seized, such flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, worn contrary to our royal will and pleasure herein expressed, but also to return the names of such ships and vessels neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack or ensign,

contrary hereunto, together with the names of their respective masters or commanders, unto our high admiral, or commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, or the judge of our high court of admiralty for the time being, to the end that all persons offending may be duly punished for the same. And we do hereby command and enjoin the judge and judges of our high court of admiralty for the time being, that they make strict inquiry concerning all such offenders, and cause them to be duly punished: And all vice admirals and judges of the vice admiralties are hereby also required to proceed in like manner within the several ports and places belonging to their respective precincts. And our further pleasure is, that this proclamation shall take place according to the times hereafter mentioned; viz. for all ships in the Channel or British seas, and in the North Seas, after twelve days from the date of these presents, and from the mouth of the Channel unto Cape Saint Vincent, after six weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Cape, and on this side the Equinoxial Line, as well in the Ocean and Mediterranean as elsewhere, after ten weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Line, after the space of eight months from the date of these presents.

Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

FINIS.

.....
 Printed and Published by W. F. M'Laughlin,
 and Bartholomew Graves, Philadelphia.

A
POSTLIMINIOUS PREFACE
TO THE
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,

BY
FRANCIS PLOWDEN, ESQ.

CONTAINING
A STATEMENT OF THE AUTHOR'S COMMUNICATIONS WITH
THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON
AND SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES, UPON THE SUBJECT OF THAT
WORK; SOME STRICTURES UPON THE FALSITIES OF
THE BRITISH CRITIC;
AND OTHER ANONYMOUS TRADUCERS OF THE IRISH NATION;
AND ALSO SOME OBSERVATIONS ON
LORD REDESDALE'S LETTERS TO THE EARL OF FINGAL.

Quem mala stultitia et quæcunque inescitia veri
Cæcum agit. Hor. Sat. iii. l. 2.

Whom wicked folly and in ev'ry form
Nescience of truth hurl blindfold on to ruin.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM F. M'LAUGHLIN, NO. 28
NORTH SECOND STREET, AND BARTHOLOMEW GRAVES, NO.
40 NORTH FOURTH STREET.

.....
1806.



A

POSTLIMINIOUS PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND.

THE marvellous fertility of the present era in extraordinary occurrences will reconcile the reader to the publication of a postliminious preface to a work, that has been upwards of six months before the public. Whilst the great Ruler of the Universe continues to produce the wise ends of his providence over human beings through secondary causes, the reasoning powers, with which he has gifted them, continue to be the ordinary means by which he enables them to face the circumstances of the day, however awful, pregnant, or unprecedented they be. To every function and department in social life, appropriate duties are affixed, which arise out of, and can only cease in the extinction of social nature itself. If Bolingbroke observed truly, *that the love of history seems inseparable from human nature*, the historiographer fills no unimportant station in society. His first and last duty is a sacred adherence to truth; and until it please the Divine Ruler to suspend or alter that system, by which he has hitherto given action and protection to the physical and moral world, profane and irreverend would be the attempt to attain the truth of human events otherwise than by the light and rules of that reason, which for this very end he has indiscriminately infused into every human being.

The author conscious of his eagerness to investigate, and his stern determinations to disclose the truth, did not heretofore feel

himself called upon to make any avowal to the public of his intention and endeavours to fulfil this indispensable duty of the historian. The case is now altered ; and he does feel himself called upon to submit to the public several facts, which affect the credit of his history, and which most intimately touch the interests of Ireland, and therefore involve the firmness and prosperity of the British empire.

Consistently with the views, motives and principles, which led the author to undertake the arduous and important (and to some invidious) task of bringing down the Irish history to the present day, he cannot pass wholly unnoticed, the invectives upon the *Historical Review* in the British Critic for November and December, 1803. The work appears to have set afloat all the gall of the reverend writers of that periodical publication. In p. 465, vol. xxii. they assure their readers, that " the publication is considered by " a great part of the Irish as a libel upon the loyalty of Ireland ; " and his (the author's) object in publishing such a work at such " a time is best known to himself." It is now become necessary to make that object known also to the public. They add (p. 483) " As this *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* by Mr. Plowden has very imprudently provoked investigation, it is alone " answerable for whatever contention may arise from the discussion." Such responsibility is common to all publications ; more especially to such as deal in invective. These considerate censors are, doubtless, therefore prepared for similar responsibility. But the influence, under which the British Critic is well known to be directed and circulated, gives no opening to individual controversy or personal reflection.

The author repels with scorn the false charges of writing his History to serve the interests of a party, and to mislead the people of England. He avers, that it contains no wilful historical misrepresentation ; he believes it contains no actual historical misrepresentation. It contains no undeserved panegyric upon any set of individuals ; it contains some censure, but no unfounded calumnies against the living and the dead of any set. Such general charges can only be met by general denial ; and in support of such denial, beyond the authorities adduced in the *Historical Review* (not to be taken on the credit of the gross mis-statements of the British Critic), the author forewarns his reader, that the first overflow of their acrimonious humour for the month of November does not contain one specific charge, much less a proof, that the author has falsified one single historical fact.

If from these first workings of the British Critic it be allowable to analyze the dose administered (however gilded the pill), it will be found to have been composed of the following ingredients : three fourths of antipathy against the professors of the Roman Ca-

tholic religion, not ineptly termed, *Papaphobia*; and the remaining fourth of a powerful compound of the drug called *Miserinia*, or hatred of the Irish nation; an equal portion of a higher sublimate of this compound lately prepared by sir Richard Musgrave, bart. and forced by the puffs of the British Critic into general circulation amongst their customers; and a discretionary infusion of the common drug *Doulodynamy* never known for ages to have failed in producing in the patient a blind unqualified submission even to the most nauseous, painful, and humiliating *recipe* of the physician. Whether the administration of such a pill have been judicious under the existing circumstances, may be doubted by many; that it has operated powerfully, must be allowed by all, who have examined its effects.

Under the operation of this dose, so keenly ferocious are the patients' animosity and hatred to the Irish nation, or to their religion, or to both, that they take offence at what the author has very compendiously inferred from the indefatigable researches and unanswerable disquisitions of the late Charles O'Connor of Ballynagare, the learned and ingenious Vallaney, and several other respectable Irish authors, concerning some facts, which preceded Christianity by nearly one thousand years; others that happened before the reformation, by as long a period; and many that pre-existed by several centuries the invasion of Ireland by Henry II, the epoch, from which the author commences his *Historical Review*. These facts are not the assertions of Mr. Plowden, as falsely advanced (p. 471); but the concurrent testimony of the ancient and modern historians of Ireland, backed and illustrated by a body of evidence of moral and even physical certainty, which baffles scepticism. Yet in the face of such incontrovertible proofs, the *British Critic* recommends to his devotees to rely rather upon the conjectures of DAVID HUME.* The unsupported audacity

* As the conjectures of Mr. Hume are here brought forward to discredit the very foundation of Irish history, it will not be found invidious in the author to call his reader's attention to that gentleman's claim to historical veracity.—*Amicus Plato: magis amica veritas*. If these theological anathematisers of the *Historical Review* have read the work regularly, they must have seen (p. 114) what was said by the rev. dr. Warner (a Protestant divine, perhaps as well qualified to know, and as well disposed to disclose, the truth of Irish history, as any writer for the *British Critic*), concerning Mr. Hume's historical fidelity to Ireland. "To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth." While Mr. Hume was writing his history, a certain lord of session supplied him with several original documents concerning Elizabeth's conduct towards Mary Queen of Scots; they tended to render the character of Elizabeth less amiable in the eyes of the English, than it is generally represented. Mr. Hume worked them faithfully into his manuscript, which having been perused by or on behalf of Mr. Andrew Millar, his publisher, he was informed, that this new and less favoured portrait of that favourite sovereign would be by 500*l.* less saleable than a highly finished copy of that, to which the British eye had been so long accustomed.

of contradiction in the *British Critic*, so prevalent throughout their two first essays against the *Historical Review*, throws them directly within the observation of a great man, who also had to combat a class of general deniers of palpable verities—*Nec tam pertinaces fore arbitrar ut clarissimum solem sanis atque patentibus oculis videre se negent.* LACTANT.

The author is charged (p. 476) with *having passed over sixteen reigns*, viz. from Richard I. to Henry VII. Allowing the charge to be either true or important, it clears him at least of even an attempt to falsify any historical fact during those reigns. He is gratified, however, in the *British Critic's* bringing before the public the transaction of the imposture of *Simnel*: for admitting that adherence to the claims of the House of York was no act of rebellion, the attachment of the Irish to the supposed earl of Warwick is an illustrious instance (amongst many) of the grateful affection of that nation to their benefactors, and of their distinguished loyalty to their lawful sovereign; for presuming that impostor to be the earl of Warwick, they considered him to be the true Plantagenet.

So gross are the deviations of those bilious critics from the knowledge of the scholar, the fairness of the gentleman, and the candour of the reviewer, that, after having illustrated an instance of each, the author will dismiss them from his thoughts for ever; unless some future well-founded or temperate critique should suggest the inaccuracy or falsehood of some historical fact, which he will then correct, and publicly recognize his obligation to the suggester of the mis-statement: for truth, from whatever hand it comes, shall continue to be, as it has hitherto been, the sole object of his attainment.

The *British Critic* (p. 481) betrays the slender store of legal and constitutional knowledge, with which he so confidently arro-

Mr. Hume took back his manuscript, and complied with the prudential suggestions of his bookseller, observing, with philosophic pleasantry, that 500*l.* was a valuable consideration for settling differences between two old friends about two w—s that had been dead nearly two hundred years. The abilities of Mr. Hume as a writer are allowed by all: his religious doctrines have but few professed supporters; and his historical veracity will certainly be questioned by those who credit this anecdote, which can be still verified by many living acquaintance of the late Mr. A. Millar. But *ex ore tuo, te judico.* Mr. Hume has himself confessed, that *no man has yet arisen, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her without covering or disguise to the eyes of the prejudiced public.* (Hist. of Eng.) With how much more dignity spoke an honest Englishman, ere modern philosophy, deistical scepticism, or political refinement had disguised the British character: *Dura est enim conditio historiographorum: quia si vera dicant, homines provocant: si falsa scripturis commendant, Dominus qui veridicos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat.* MAT. PAR. 774. For hard is the lot of the historian! if he speak truth, he offends man: if by his writings he countenance falsehood, the Lord, who segregates truth-tellers from flatterers, will not receive him.

gates the function of *librorum censor*. In his pruriency for invective he charges the author with not having read, or not understanding the statute against marrying with the Irish. In turgid hebetude, these time-serving commentators upon the statutes confine the prohibition to intermarriages between the king's subjects and Irish rebels, unless they became *denizens*: ignorant that *denization* is the cure of *alienage*, not of *high treason*. But what will the rural curate, who reluctantly pays for the impartial elucubrations of the *British Critic* as the *sine qua non* of his promotion, what will his rector, what his ordinary, what will any man, who has hitherto given them credit for the knowledge of the scholar, or even for common honesty, say, when he is apprized, that the 56th page of the *Historical Review*, which has drawn forth their Pharisaical rant, contains the solemn opinion, agreeing with the author's (and with every lawyer's) interpretation of that statute, so recently given as on the 10th of February 1800, by the late earl of Clare, undoubtedly the most able, and by his creatures and followers cried up as the purest supporter of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. "The early policy of the English government certainly was to discourage all connexion of the colony with the *native* (mark, he says not *rebel*) Irish: it seems difficult, however, to reconcile it to any principle of sound policy: it was a declaration of perpetual war against not only the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the Pale, or from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connexions with the natives (this was no act of treason), and adopted their laws or customs; and it had the full effect, which might have been expected: it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent district." (Speech of the earl of Clare, in D. P. 9.)

As the author's view was the publication of truth, he once thought, as he continues to think, that it was his duty to send it forth in the form in which it should pass the most current. He was aware, that to that class of his readers, who are really desirous of attaining the truth, it would be immaterial, from whose pen it came: and to that class of them, whose prejudices being once fixed would reluctantly submit to any truth which counteracted them, he presumed the words of one of their favourite writers would receive more ready credit than those of the author. For this reason the author designedly copied from Leland, where Leland spoke the truth*: particularly concerning the early scenes

* The late dr. Leland is well known to have written his history for a bishopric, which he never attained. It is but a more polished edition of Cox, the falsities of whose work are too rank and numerous for specific refutation. The

of the reformation and its introduction into Ireland. He said therefore in a note, and it would have been candid in the British Critic to have noticed the words (p. 52), "For very obvious reasons I have chosen to follow dr. Leland's account of the effect of archbishop Browne's mission to Ireland."

A reader of the British Critic giving the writers credit for common honesty and truth, must necessarily infer from these words (p. 475), *As to Mr. Plowden's philippic against coynge and livery, &c.* that the author had indulged in some vehement invective against that usage, which those writers dignified by the appellation of a *philippic*. But what will be the conclusion, when it shall appear that all the author has said of it is thus expressed in p. 41: "It was a system so grievous in its nature, that, had it been confined to that disastrous period of the Irish history, I should have spoken of it with the same freedom I have used in narrating other barbarous usages, which civilization and political liberality have long entombed; but recent revivals of this system of inhumanity render it prudent for a modern writer to use other rather than his own language in retailing these ancient enormities." What will be the astonishment, that the *philippics* found in the *Historical Review* against *coynge and live-*

author never intended to publish a polemical work, to refute other false historians, but to submit to the public a genuine view of the state of Ireland, by tearing away the veil of fictitious story, and exposing facts, such as they were. Dr. Leland was amply furnished with documents for writing a true history of Ireland by several, who were desirous that historical justice should at length be done to that much traduced people. He cultivated the acquaintance of, and was in habits of intimacy with the late Mr. Charles O'Connor, of Ballynagare, who was possessed of the best collection of materials for writing Irish history down to the period to which dr. Leland carries it, of any individual in Europe, and which is now deposited in the Marquis of Buckingham's library at Stowe. The author has been repeatedly assured by two gentlemen of great respectability now living, that they have heard dr. Leland assure Mr. O'Connor, that he was fully aware of the false colouring and unfair tendency of his history; but that the persons, for whom he wrote and published it, would not relish or encourage the work, unless it supported those facts and principles, which had received currency with the English ascendancy in Ireland since the reformation; admitting he could write a more true, which would, of course, be a less saleable history of that country. The late Mr. Edmund Burke had made some important researches into one particular period of Irish history, the author's representation of which has given such offence to the *British Critic*, and from public records had extracted most authentic documents relative to the Protestant massacre, which would have given a very different cast to the complexion of that supposed event. When dr. L. undertook to write the history of Ireland, Mr. B. put these and all his other papers into the Doctor's hands, in order that facts might be brought to light, and history bottomed in truth. But truth was not the object of Leland's publication; a good sale was his only aim; and facts which would have counteracted the prejudices of those who could afford to buy, were suppressed, for fear of blasting with unpalatable truths, the pages of his work. He not only withheld the papers from his history, but from Mr. B. likewise. Mr. B. was never able to obtain them from him again. The truth of this anecdote has been confirmed to the author by several intimate friends of the late Mr. Burke.

ry, are those of the first law officer of the crown, and of a Protestant divine, and not of a Catholic historian? The first of these *philippics* is of sir John Davies, and begins with these remarkable words: "But the most wicked and mischievous custome of all others was that of *coygne and livery* often before mentioned, which consisted in taking of *man's meate, horse meate, and money* of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier; who, as the phrase of Scripture is, did eate up the people as it were bread." And it ends with the following remarkable words: "That though it were invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Belzebub." The second of these *philippics* is from the pen of dr. Leland, and is expressed in his strongest colouring: it ends with these words: "Riot, rapine, massacre, and all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were the natural consequences. Every inconsiderable party, who under the pretence of loyalty received the king's commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their property, their wives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who sought only to glut their brutal passions, and by their horrible excesses purchased the curse of God and man." If the ire and indignation of the British Critic be roused into such paroxysms by these *philippics*, truth and candour must admit, that they are the *philippics*, of sir John Davies and dr. Leland, and not of Mr. Plowden.

For the sake of such persons as are ignorant of, but who wish to attain the truth of Irish history, the author passes not over unnoticed the piteous attempt of the British Critic to discredit the *Historical Review*, by *falsely* asserting, that it is bottomed only upon the authority of some few Catholic writers, in palpable contradiction to the Protestant historians of Ireland. For the refutation of this unmanly falsehood, the author refers his readers, and particularly his *English* readers (the British Critic has inadvertently uttered one truth, p. 464, *That very general is the ignorance, which, even at this day, prevails in England of the true state of that country*) to the authorities he has quoted in his work of dr. Nalson, the bishop of Derry, and dr. Warner; all three Protestant clergymen; and the author presumes, in as high repute for knowledge, candour, and religion, as the writer of the *British Critic*.

Doctor Nalson says (and the British Critic could not wink so hard as not to see it quoted), p. 13, "That Borlase's history of the Irish Rebellion is rather a paradox than a history, and that his distorted plagiarism of lord Clarendon's manuscript rendered him suspected not to be overstocked with honesty and

“ justice, so necessary to the reputation of an unblemished historian. He wrote for the avowed purpose of defending the harsh government of his father sir John Borlase and sir William Parsons.”—The bishop of Derry admits that “ he continued sir John Temple’s partial and unfaithful Memoirs, and wrote reflections upon lord Castlehaven’s Memoirs, as being openly and avowedly a favourite of the faction, and the men and the actions of those times.”

Doctor Warner is quoted (p. 113,) and no man of ordinary understanding will give credit to such severe censors, for having inadvertently overlooked so long and important a quotation from a Protestant gentleman of their own cloth. “ The original Protestant writers of this period are sir John Temple and doctor Borlase: the first, who was master of the rolls and a privy counsellor, has confined himself entirely to the massacre and rebellion in the early part of it; and the sense of what he suffered by the insurrection, together with his attachment to the ministry, led him to aggravate the crimes and cruelties of the Irish: the other was the son of sir John Borlase, one of the lords justices of that time, and seems to have been an officer in the civil wars, who hath made great use of Temple’s history; and, as far as he liked it, of lord Clarendon’s vindication of the marquis of Ormonde. If both these authors are to be read with great suspicion of partiality, as they certainly are, except in the copies of original papers, and the facts which tally with them, sir Richard Cox, who has done little more than transcribe the accounts which they have given, is entitled to still less merit, and yet open to the same suspicion. When he had no longer these to be his guide, the remainder of his work is little more than an extract from the newspapers and pamphlets of the time, and in no part deserves the name of a history.” And he further says, “ As to all the writers of English history, who attempt to give any relation of this rebellion, having compiled from some or other of the materials aforementioned, they have copied likewise their mistakes and imperfections: hence they are so inaccurate, partial and uninformed, that whoever contents himself with the accounts that he meets with of it, in any of our histories of England (not one excepted) may be said to know little of it.” The same reverend author, speaking in the body of his history, of Mr. Hume’s gross infidelity, in representing the conduct of Charles I. towards his Irish subjects, says (p. 359), “ To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth. It is but very little that Mr. Hume hath said on this critical part of king Charles’s reign; but unless he could have said something much more to the purpose than he hath said,

"he had better have taken the way lord Clarendon took, and have said nothing at all."—Can they claim title to the fairness of reviewers, who charge the author (p. 661) *with interdicting any reference to Temple, Borlase, Clarendon, Carte, and Cox, and accusing the Protestants with having commenced the first massacre in 1641; a position (they assert) contrary to the faith of history; when they must have read the following words, quoted out of Clarendon (Hist. Rev. 137): "About the beginning of November 1641, the English and Scotch forces in Carrickfergus murdered, in one night, all the inhabitants of the island Gee, commonly called Mac-Gee, to the number of above three thousand, men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics in that country were in arms or rebellion. Note, that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland on either side."* Let any man of common honour or honesty (I appeal to none other) say, is this interdicting the authority of Clarendon? Is this Mr. Plowden's or lord Clarendon's accusation?

Such barefaced attempts to impose upon ignorance or inability to attain the truth, such prostitution to every thing uncandid, such total abandonment of uprightness, will discharge the author from the nauseating task of specifying more of the wilful falsifications and mis-statements of the writers of the *British Critic*. They have, however, called upon the author to disclose to the public *his object in publishing such a work, at such a time as the present, with a further complaint that at this unpropitious moment he has thrown down the gauntlet of religious and political controversy* (p. 465). Before the author enters into the detail of the circumstances, under which he wrote and published his *Historical Review*, he begs leave to premise, that the work does not contain a single sentence of religious controversy. If the narration of historical truths be, in the language of these *pseudocritics, throwing down the gauntlet*, the author declines not the contest with any one, who fairly enters the lists to disprove them.

In the autumn of 1801, the author had in the press a work, that has since appeared, upon the constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, civil and ecclesiastical. It was his intention to have subjoined to it an Appendix, relating to the then recent transaction of the union. The difficulty of procuring any materials for the purpose in London, sharpened his eagerness for research, and led him to contemplate that great event in all its bearings. The subject was not new to him: he had long considered*, as he still does consider, that an incorpo-

* The author had, in April 1792, after several conversations with the minister upon the subject of Ireland, put into his hands the following considerations upon the state of that country, accompanied with a letter, which, should these sheets come under his eye, the author trusts will work an impression on that

rate union of the two kingdoms must be the greatest blessing to the British empire, if followed up by an indiscriminating adoption of all his majesty's subjects, in the assumption of the imperial parliament's manifesting the same tutelary attention to the inte-

great man's mind, which either was not produced or not expressed at the time he received them. The writer was ordered, and he obeyed the order, to put a copy into the hands of Mr. Dundas (now lord Melville). From that hour, though the author frequently solicited an interview with that minister, he never could obtain one during the remaining nine years he continued in office though the objects of his solicitation were of the first national magnitude. Truth alone survives all changes of times, fashions, and circumstances. In justice to himself and family, the author now submits to the impartial public, that letter and, that paper, which the consequent conduct of the ministers, who received them, towards the writer shews to have been displeasing or offensive. The fate of the *Historical Review* renders the case of the author the cause of Ireland; and it is now become expedient, just, and necessary, that his negotiations in Downing street concerning it should be disclosed.

Adelphi, 13th April 1792.

SIR,

Your apparent surprise at what I hinted to you about Ireland, the last time I had the honour of seeing you, has made me turn my thoughts more than ever to that subject. If the information, which you have received concerning the situation of affairs in that country be contrary to my representation of them, for once I shall cordially rejoice in being deceived. I have used what means I could to come at the truth: and you may rely upon the uprightness of my intentions in communicating to you the contents of the enclosed paper. I have withstood some pressing solicitations to publish an argument in support of the emancipation of Ireland. For very obvious reasons, I have preferred this measure, of submitting privately the grounds of the case to your consideration, that your prudence may apply such remedy, as you shall find the nature of it demands. You will forgive perhaps an officious, certainly a zealous attempt to contribute towards the prevention of very serious evils. I have that confidence in your judgment and resolution, that nothing but misinformation of facts, can betray you into an inefficient measure of government. I hope, therefore, that my surmise of false reports having been made to you will plead my apology for having troubled you upon the subject. I most devoutly wish the circumstances not to happen, which, I am sorry to acknowledge, I see the strongest probability of happening. If happily they do not, I shall rejoice in having given an useless alarm: If unfortunately they do, I shall console myself in the consciousness of having done whatever lay in my slender ability to prevent them. My constant ambition is to promote and ensure the welfare and happiness of every part of the British empire. I have the honour to be with the most respectful deference and highest esteem,

SIR, your devoted and obedient

Humble Servant,

FRANCIS FLOWDEN.

The Right Honourable William Pitt.

A sincere well-wisher to government thinks it a call of duty and loyalty to submit to the minister the following considerations upon the present state of Ireland.

It is allowed that 3,000,000 of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics. It is a matter of notoriety, that they have petitioned parliament in vain for the free elective franchise. The indulgences, which have been granted to them by parliament, affect but few individuals of their body.

The situation of Ireland is at present widely different from what it was twenty years back. The sentiments and feelings of men upon government and subordination are also widely different from what they were five years back

rests of the people of Ireland, which they do to those of the city of London, or other the most favoured portion of the British empire.

He passed in review all the intermediate scenes exhibited on

Wherever a government or constitution is radically good, the discussion of its principles will strengthen and confirm it: but where it is otherwise, such discussion must produce a contrary effect.

Every general principle of the British constitution operates in the inverse *ratio* upon Ireland: and the Irish are now taught to see, and spirited up to feel, that a nation cannot be taxed that is not represented, nor bounden by laws, in the framing of which they do not concur. They know themselves to have been loyal to their king and country: they profess that faith which they believe their consciences require, which they know to be civilly innoxious, and in no manner repugnant to the spirit of the constitution of their country. They therefore feel themselves galled by persecution and oppression merely on account of their religious persuasion. They know that they form a most decided majority of the nation; and they are now forcibly taught to insist upon the practical effects of the first principle of all civil government, that the free will of the majority can alone bind a nation. The bulk of the Irish Roman Catholics consists of their peasantry. They are chiefly aggrieved by the want of the elective franchise, which subjects them to be constantly postponed in the letting of farms to Protestant 40s. freeholders to keep up parliamentary influence. Catholic families are daily ejected from their tenements to make room for Protestant 40s. freeholders.

The body of Roman Catholics indeed is generally inclined to monarchy: the society of United Irishmen of Belfast are mostly, if not entirely, Presbyterians, who are known to be less cordially affected towards monarchy: and it appears evident from their resolutions, oath, and proceedings, that they aim immediately at a total change in the representation of the kingdom of Ireland, intended probably to be followed up by a total separation from this country, and, if possible, by the establishment of a republican democracy.

The attempts of this society to form an union or coalition with the Roman Catholics are unremitting: every lure, every promise, every temptation to civil freedom and liberty, are artfully displayed, and every incentive to retaliate for past horrors or grievances, every provocative to reclaim usurped rights, are most ingeniously and forcibly and seasonably brought forth to keep up the irascibility of those, who have been so sorely hurt at the disdainful rejection of their petition to parliament for the right of the elective franchise. The few Roman Catholics of landed property, or ostensible respectability, who have signed any instrument to denote or intimate their acquiescence in the deprivation of this great civil right, have either lost their influence upon the body at large, or repented, for having committed themselves upon the question. The body itself has acquired an increased degree of spirit, energy and determination to pursue this object to every extreme, in proportion as they have been heretofore supposed to be under the influence of lord Kenmare and others who sided with him.

The unparalleled sufferance and forbearance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland for this last century, under the galling pressure of the severest laws, was solely owing to the influence and exertions of their clergy over their respective flocks. But now, from forming themselves into associations, and being taught to think more fully and freely upon their civil rights, they have determined amongst themselves, that in this they have been deceived and misled by their clergy: that no consideration whatever ought to have witholden them from asserting their just rights, as unoffending members of that society, of which they formed the decided majority. The consequence has been, that the clergy have found it necessary to secede from the committee of the Roman Catholic body. They have also felt, that during this unaccountable and infamous

the theatre of that fatal country between the years 1798 and 1801 ; he inquired into the effects produced up to that time (the end of August 1801) by the union ; and he lamented to find, that it became daily less palatable to the people of that part of the United

stupor of their body, as they term it, lord Kenmare had pretended to command and exercise an influence over the body, which he really never possessed ; and lest the deception might still continue, they have expelled him from the committee : and it is notorious, that his lordship could not command one single name or signature to an address, that he wished to be presented to government from his own county of Kerry, where the bulk of his property lies.

The consequences of irritating and provoking the majority of the Irish nation, by the refusal of what they feel they have a right to, are too horrid to dwell upon, and much too serious to trifle with. The resolution no longer to submit to any incapacities or grievances upon the score of religion is general with the body. And those who think that the Irish Roman Catholics are now peaceable, inactive, quiet, and contented with their situation, are grossly deceived. A spirit of resistance has pervaded the greater part of them, and is increasing in a rapid though silent manner : the more so at present, as their future measures will be probably planned and concerted by the society of the United Irishmen of Dublin, who have deeper schemes than the Roman Catholics, whom they mean to use as their instruments for executing them.

They are taught and spirited up by some very artful and determinate individuals of their own and of other bodies of men, to be insulted with the very idea of the Protestant ascendancy, to insist upon absolute equality in all civil advantages ; to view every ascendancy over the bulk of the nation as an unjust and tyrannical monopoly of a few interested individuals ; in a word, not to look upon those their representatives in parliament, whom they neither elect nor depute. What must be the consequences of an enraged, resolute, and united people, thus tutored, and thus affected ?

The radical defect of redress lies in the act of the 23d of his present majesty, which established a sort of *imperium in imperio*, and made Ireland independent of our legislature. A most fatal solecism in politics ; which nothing but an *union* can now possibly correct ; and to that Ireland will object, and England is disabled by this very act to enforce it.

Government best knows of what importance it is to the state, that Ireland should be dependant upon, or united with Great Britain : they will therefore be the proper judges of the necessity of engaging the majority of the nation to relish and support that dependance or *union*. Let them not, therefore, permit the Roman Catholics of Ireland to remain under their present prepossession, that their exclusion from the state is necessary to preserve that dependance or *union*.

Ere some fatal resolution be entered into, let them be convinced that their petition will be attended to, and granted. Under the desperate irritation at its rejection, some moderate men shudder at the violent extremities to which the more active and determinate members of the body are now proceeding.

The Irish are determinately faithful to the cause they embark in, and they would remain loyally attached to their king and their constitution, were they admitted to an equal participation of it with others. Their religion enforces the observance of civil duties wherever they have civil rights. It appears the extremity of rashness to alienate their affection, and drive them to the fatal provocation of asserting what they claim as an unalienable right, by force or violence.

If government wish to preserve the form of the British constitution in Ireland, if the possessors of landed property in that kingdom wish to annex any parliamentary influence to their possessions, if the public wish to avoid bloodshed, to preserve the harmony and ensure the prosperity of that kingdom, it is evident that the content, freedom and independence of their native tenantry are essentially necessary.

Kingdom. He discovered from inquiries, that, so far from its uniting and consolidating the affections of the Irish with those of the British, a general discontent and disgust at the measure seemed to pervade all ranks of people throughout that country. He was assured by an Irish member of the imperial parliament, that although he had ever execrated the measure, he had voted for it uniformly from its proposal to its accomplishment; and that it was, he believed, cordially detested by ninety-nine out of one hundred of his countrymen. It was impossible not to see, that the consequences of the rebellion of 1798 had left an impression of vindictive soreness in the breasts of numerous individuals: and it was evident, that the union had not hitherto counteracted those effects. The efforts of some anti-unionists to discredit the measure, and render it unpopular, were increasing, not abating. To the disaffected, the union offered a plausible ground for indulging an acrimonious disgust at government. Many of the venal supporters of that measure having either gotten all they expected, or less than they thought themselves entitled to, were wickedly mischievous in endeavouring to bring it into contempt and hatred. Two powerful arguments were employed in traducing it in the eyes of the Catholics. To the supporters of that measure (they were far the majority), that they were swindled into that support by false promises and delusive expectations never intended to be realized. To the few who opposed it, it was urged (by the con-

The spirit in which very many Roman Catholics have embarked in the resolution of asserting an equal participation of civil rights and advantages with their Protestant brethren, is emphatically expressed in the form of the oath, which is required to be taken by all who enter into the society of United Irishmen, which is as follows: "I A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as is in my ability, to form a brotherhood of affection and identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions: without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

Many thousands of Roman Catholics have already entered into this society. A coalition between the Catholic committee of Dublin and the Dissenters of the north, is already completed, though not with the Roman Catholics of the south-west. The most earnest attempts are made to bring this to bear, and the prevention of it alone can save that country from a general attempt, by means perhaps the most horrible, to throw off their dependance upon this government (if any they still have), and to form a new one for themselves.

The enthusiastic conviction of asserting *civil and religious rights* superadded to the natural impetuosity of the Irish disposition, and aggravated by the most artful incentives to retaliate for the oppressions and confiscations of their ancestors, must fill every thoughtful person with the awful dread of scenes, at which humanity will shudder, and from which God of his mercy preserve us.

duct of government since the union, the argument now affects the whole body), that their claims and interests will for ever be, as they hitherto have been, neglected, despised, or rejected by the imperial parliament. Such reasoning falling in with the seductive artifices of the restless, discontented, vindictive, and desperate (such there are in Ireland to this moment), tended in different ways to estrange the public mind from that affectionate confidence in government, which is the natural supporter of duty and loyalty. Observation convinced the author, that the bulk of the *Orange-men* were from principle, disposition, and interest, determined *anti-unionists*; that with this body of men it had been long a practice to measure and appraise their own loyalty by traducing such of their fellow-subjects as they excluded from their societies (the exclusion of the Catholics extended to a population of nearly four millions), holding out their Catholic countrymen as rebels and traitors from disposition, principle, and religion; that the quintessence of *Orangism* was necessarily productive of disunion and enmity between the members of the *Orange* clubs, and those who could not be admitted into them. The prevailing belief that their viceroy, when colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, had been sworn into an *Orange lodge* (the author has not attempted to verify the fact), tended to weaken the personal confidence of those who considered all *Orange-men* indiscriminately bounden by ties and engagements adverse to the Catholic interests, and who experimentally remarked the exclusive preference and predilection of the members of that society in the dispensation of grace and favour from the castle.

Under these impressions the author solicited and was quickly honoured with an appointment to wait on Mr. Addington; when he submitted to him, that the calumny, traduction, and misrepresentation, under which the bulk of the Irish laboured, was a national grievance; that nothing could tend more powerfully to excite and promote rebellion, than to hold out, consider, and deal with them as with incorrigible rebels by disposition, principle, and religion; that the evil was increased by the countenance and forced circulation given to sir R. Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Irish Rebellions*; a work so false, inflammatory, and malignant, that lord Cornwallis had been forced publicly to disclaim the dedication of it: that the Irish nation was pre-eminently fond of historical justice, and felt more sensibly than any other people, the deprivation of it: that it therefore had become an object of national importance, that a fair, impartial, and authentic history of that country should be written to counteract the effects of sir R. Musgrave's, and such other *Orange* publications, in order to reconcile the public mind in Ireland to the measure of union. That the premier might be put into the full possession of the author's sen-

timents upon the state of Ireland, he delivered to him a copy of the before mentioned letter and paper written twelve years before, and took the liberty of desiring that they might be kept by him as a test of his sentiments, and a pledge of his fidelity in executing the commission which he then received of writing an impartial and authentic history of Ireland, to shew the utility, and reconcile the Irish mind to the prospective advantages of the union. When on this occasion the author's proposal was acceded to by the minister, a gracious remark accompanied that accession, that he was happy in employing the author's talents in an undertaking of so much utility to the public; and when reference was made to the observations of the member of parliament, before noticed upon the unpopularity of the union, Mr. Addington observed, that *he feared that feeling was but too general in Ireland.* The author having consented to take the work in hand, and to go over to Ireland during the vacation, to procure materials and information, the premier remarked, that the only remaining consideration was, to settle what compensation the author should be allowed for his time and trouble in going over to Ireland; the immediate reply was, that, confiding in the ultimate remuneration of government upon the accomplishment of his mission with fidelity, he should hope for the present, that some few hundred pounds would not be found unreasonable. The minister consented to allow him three hundred pounds; one hundred to be paid down, the second hundred at Michaelmas, and the third hundred to be paid when the author should be ready to go to press. The minister assured him he was to be put to no expense or disbursement in procuring the materials necessary for the undertaking; he was to publish in his own name, and at his own risk, and to take no advantage of the support and countenance of government. The interview ended in the promise of such a recommendation to Mr. Abbott, the secretary, as should in every sense secure to the author a satisfactory reception at the castle.

Having collected some books upon the subject of Irish affairs, in London, he arrived in Dublin in the beginning of September 1801, where having opened his mission to Mr. secretary Abbott, he was coldly received, and laconically assured, that without instructions he could give no countenance to an undertaking, to which he was till then an utter stranger. On that day the author reported himself to Mr. Addington as having arrived in Dublin, and gave an account of his reception at the castle. Before any answer could have arrived to his letter, the author received a summons to attend at the castle, from Mr. Alexander Marsden, who informed him, that orders had been received from Downing street to furnish him with materials for writing the History of the Union. Mr. under-secretary, to whom the author was a

stranger, received him very graciously, and conversed upon the subject of the undertaking for nearly two hours; he was particularly inquisitive about the period, from which the history was to be deduced, the size of the work, the probable time of its appearance, and the nature of the documents and materials, to which he wished to have access, or to be furnished with. To these inquiries it was answered, that the intention was to give to the public such a portion of Irish history as should shew the necessity of an incorporate union, by contrasting the evils, which that country had suffered from the want of union against the advantages which they had a well-founded expectation of deriving from the enjoyment of it; and meaning to write an *authentic* history, he should find it requisite to annex a copious appendix to the work, to which the readers might be referred for documents, that would be found tedious by some, if retailed in the body of it. Many state papers would therefore be wanting. This was instantly resisted; and the author was given to understand, that documents of that nature were wholly inaccessible; he was assured, with fully as much confidence as truth, that all such papers and documents were the property of the different secretaries, who carried them away upon quitting their office; that in the progress of time, the papers of lords *Hobart, Pelham, Castlereagh, &c.* might come to be published as historical curiosities, like those of *Strafford, Ormond, Essex, Boulter, &c.* Circumstanced as the author was, and considering Mr. Marsden as uttering the instructions of Mr. secretary Abbott, who upon the first dawn of the undertaking had shewn his marked disapprobation of it, tamely remarked, that it was not for him to dictate; he was under orders, and should endeavour to the best of his abilities to make the proper use of whatever materials he should be furnished with; remarking at the same time, that a difference of opinion in the two cabinets appeared rather singular, now that the union had taken place. But as no authentic history could be written without the aid of the journals and statutes, they were instantly promised; and when it was urged, that many proclamations, addresses, and other such pieces, could not be dispensed with, Mr. under-secretary replied, that as they had all appeared in different newspapers, the author might extract from them. Upon assurance however, that after a diligent search through Dublin, no files of newspapers could be found even for three years back, an offer was made to lend the author the regular files of the *Freeman's Journal*, which were kept in the castle. From these, during his stay in Dublin, the author procured such extracts to be made by a scrivener as he conceived would be wanting for his history.

It was recommended to the author to wait again upon Mr. Abbott, who was only visible at the castle on Tuesdays and Fri-

days, from the hours of eleven till four, upon business. On the ensuing Tuesday the author announced himself to Mr. Abbott at eleven, and was admitted at ten minutes before four o'clock. Mr. secretary was on his legs, booted and spurred, on the point of departing : he made some excuse for having kept him so long in waiting, and gave him an order for the statutes and journals. On this day the author wrote fully to Mr. Addington upon his disappointment at his reception at the castle ; observing, that the refusal of access to the state papers in Ireland would be of less consequence, as he presumed that duplicates of all the material documents must be found in England, and that it would rest with him to admit the author to them upon his return. During two months residence in Ireland, the author collected whatever materials and information he could acquire for his undertaking.

With very intense application, the author had, by the end of January 1802, prepared sufficient manuscript to go to press ; and as he had offered to submit it to the perusal of any person, whom Mr. Addington should appoint on his behalf, he carried the manuscript to Mr. Hiley Addington, who had hitherto been his paymaster, to know before whom the manuscript should be laid, and to solicit the third and last payment of one hundred pounds. Now, for the first time, the author remarked an unwillingness on the part of his employers that the work should go on. A peremptory refusal to make good the last payment alarmed him ; and he was astonished to be told by Mr. Hiley Addington, that it had been promised only after publication of the work ; and moreover, that it might never become due, as the work, if disapproved of, might never be published at all. To this the author, with some firmness, replied ; he was confident, that, were he honoured with an interview with Mr. Addington, he could readily bring to his recollection the particulars of the proposal and agreement about the payment of the money : but as to the publication of the work, after the trouble which he had already taken, and that it was known to several, that he had engaged in the undertaking, it should be said by none, that he had failed in what he had taken in hand ; and that the work should positively appear, though under the correction of Mr. Addington, as he had agreed (and he never swerved from his word). He then had by him a folio manuscript of six hundred pages, ready to submit to perusal, and would engage regularly to furnish his censor and printer with a constant supply of manuscript till the whole should be completed.

Reflection upon what had passed with Mr. Hiley Addington, induced the author to solicit an interview with the minister, expressing in his letter for that purpose, his astonishment at the misrepresentation of the agreement made by his brother, who was not privy to it. After a lapse of some days he procured the ho-

nour of an appointment; and, after he had waited some time with his manuscript in Downing street, he was remitted to a future day by Mr. Hiley Addington. Five subsequent appointments were made and ended in the same manner: an unforeseen press of business, or the intervention of some one of more consequence, prevented his admission. A fresh appointment brought the author and his manuscript a sixth time to Downing street, where, after having waited for three quarters of an hour, he was in the old style again remitted to the following day. Upon retiring, the author was accosted by Mr. Hiley Addington, and imperiously told, that, had he chosen to have been punctual to his time, his brother would have seen him. The author replied, that he had arrived in Downing street five minutes before the hour of appointment. *That cannot be*, said Mr. H. Addington; and instantly demanded to see his note, which the author had not about him; relying however on the correctness of his memory, he promised to be punctual also to the hour on the next day.

Suspicious now became convictions that Mr. Hiley Addington had adopted all the prepossessions and prejudices of certain gentlemen against the commission given to the author to write a history, which it was neither their wish nor their interest should appear in the garb of truth. He thenceforth considered him as the tool employed to provoke, irritate, or force the author into an abandonment of the undertaking. That was vain. Every such attempt put him upon his guard, and invigorated his determination to complete his labours, with punctilious attention to the terms of his original engagement. To this no third person was privy; and to the non-interference of a third person the author attributes the minister's prompt candour and fairness in acceding to the terms of his original proposal. He gives credit to the premier for uprightness of intention, where his feelings are not affected, his judgment warped, or his conduct over-awed by art, influence, or power.

The next appointment was more fortunate to the author: he was admitted to the presence of the minister for the first time since his return from Ireland; and with him he found Mr. Hiley Addington; whether as a witness, adviser, or controller, he knows not. The first word uttered at this meeting was by the author, who apologized to the minister for the apparent inattention to his commands on the preceding day. He held the letter of appointment in his hand, offering to shew it to the premier, in justification of his punctuality. That this supposed or wished-for want of punctuality had been the subject of conversation, and perhaps of difference, between the brothers, was evident, from the minister's then uttering these words, with a familiar nod, *I told*

you so, brother. Instantly the letter was snatched violently out of the author's hand, from behind, by Mr. Hiley Addington, and committed to the flames. A dead silence ensued for about a minute. The author with difficulty believed, but fortunately reflected where he was. When ordered to be seated, he observed, that, to his mortification, he was received with a very different countenance from that which he had noticed at his last interview. Conscious of having pursued his engagement with unrelenting assiduity and punctilious fidelity, he entreated to be informed of the cause of the difference. He was sternly assured, that it rested with himself: for that he had been the only individual in the nation, who had had the indelicacy to break in upon the minister's feelings by pressing for an interview, when he was suffering under the domestic misfortune of his daughter's illness. The author's embarrassment and mortification were now turned into amazement. After the minister had thrice attended in his place in the House of Commons, the author conceived there could be no indelicacy on that score in an insignificant individual's soliciting an interview upon private business. He had, however, an apology to offer for having unguardedly, and he now found most unwarrantably, presumed to intermix his sympathies with an official application to the prime minister of state: and he then recollected that in one of his notes he had presumed to say, *that he made large allowances to family feelings and anxiety, having himself been drenched in domestic calamity*—(the author alluded to the recent misfortune of his having lost his two eldest children). This interview ended in the minister's consenting to pay the remainder of his engagement, and intimating to the author, who had with him a large folio volume of manuscript, that, if it were perused on his behalf, no responsibility would rest with the author; if otherwise, none would lie with the minister. Mr. Addington appeared unwilling to name a person to peruse the manuscript, and left it to the discretion of the author, who undertook to use it to the best of his judgment.

It must be observed, that, before the author went to Ireland, he had made arrangements with Mr. Egerton for the publication of his work; but as he declined going to press, till he had come to a thorough understanding with his employers, Mr. Egerton, from whom the author concealed nothing relating to the work, positively declined the undertaking, lest it might not be agreeable to government; he accordingly wrote to Mr. Hiley Addington, to be distinctly informed, whether, by undertaking the work, he should please or displease the powers, upon which his interests as general bookseller to the army so materially depended. An assurance against any displeasure from government, in a letter from

Mr. Hiley Addington, brought back Mr. Egerton to his old, or induced him to form a new resolution to undertake it. The author's difficulties with his bookseller lasted some months.

The author continued his literary labours; and the printer manifested no ordinary exertions in forwarding the work. In the autumn of 1802, the history had been brought down to that period, at which it became necessary to have access to some modern state papers: and as Irish affairs were frequently debated in the British parliament, the author felt the want of the latter part of the British journals and debates. He had before made an unsuccessful application for them to Mr. Hiley Addington. He now found the necessity of the most guarded caution in all his communications with his employers. On Michaelmas day he wrote the following letter to the minister:

Essex Street, 29th September, 1802.

SIR,

Having reasonable expectations that my history will be published early in the month of November, I feel it my duty to renew my application to you, to know whether it be your wish that I should be admitted to the sight of any of the state papers relating to Ireland for these last twenty years, which I expected to have seen, when I was honoured with your recommendation to the castle of Dublin. Of my disappointment on that head I wrote to you fully from Ireland last year. If not, I must conclude, as I have hitherto proceeded, with the aid of the shop and the stall. I humbly beg leave to repeat my request for the English parliamentary debates from the conclusion of Chandler's. If you have any commands to honour me with, relating to the publication, they shall be faithfully attended to. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and respect,

SIR,

Your most devoted and obedient

Humble Servant,

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

To the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington.

To this letter, after the lapse of six weeks, he received the following answer:

Downing Street, November 16, 1802.

SIR,

I am desired by my brother to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th September, and to apologize for having so long delayed to answer it. There seems *now* no possibility of *now* your having access to the state papers which you mention: and my

brother seems to think that any bookseller's shop can furnish you with the parliamentary debates.

I remain, SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. HILEY ADDINGTON.*

F. Plowden, Esq.

This letter bespoke a change in the mind and counsels of the minister respecting the author's commission. The redundant eagerness in interlining an additional *now* demonstrated the prominent zeal with which Mr. Hiley Addington conveyed this refusal of the author's request; and is evidence, that there had been a time, when such access to the state papers was intended to have been allowed. As, however, no countermand or fresh instructions were ever communicated to the author, his duty remained the same, from the acceptance of his commission in August 1801, to the close of his labours in June 1803.†

Whoever considers, that a space of about one hundred and thirteen years from the revolution in 1688 to the Union in 1801, was a trackless, unbeaten, and perilous field for an historian to travel over, it will not surprise him, that the latter part of the work should have swollen into a bulk that far exceeded the author's

* These two letters are submitted to the public, as conclusive evidence, that the author ardently wished and earnestly endeavoured to lay before them, the whole truth of the Irish history; and that the present minister, his whisperers, advisers, or directors, were determined to suppress as much of it as possible.

† The author submits to the reader the following letter to the minister, written about one month before the publication, as a proof of his continued adherence to the spirit and terms of his original engagement.

Essex Street, 12th May, 1803.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that I have at length come to the end of my laborious undertaking. But although I have finished the manuscript, it will be some time before the printer will have completed his part, as the Index and other matter of that sort proceed more slowly than the body of the work. When the whole is finished, I shall entreat your leave to present you a copy. The work has grown very considerably and very unexpectedly under my pen. It contains the quantity of four usual quarto volumes. Although its bulk have retarded the publication far beyond my expectation, yet I cannot help feeling that the present moment is providentially critical for its publication. As you, sir, must know, better than I can, the powerful and artful means that are at present employed in Ireland to alienate the public mind and affections from the British government, it is now imperiously necessary, that the Irish should feel the effects of the union. I speak as I judge and feel, and I hope I may say without offence, *Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Iernam*. I take this opportunity of acknowledging your kindness in patronizing the work, and of assuring you of the punctilious fidelity with which I have endeavoured to comply with the terms of my undertaking.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect and deference,

SIR,

Your devoted and obedient humble servant.

To the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

original expectations. It is now before the public, as the British Critic observes, *with all its imperfections upon its head*. From the imperfections more or less incidental to all literary productions, it is not the intent of the author to undertake its defence. He has endeavoured throughout to use the unadorned language of simplicity, as the appropriate vehicle of truth.* But as the truth of facts was the substantial object of his undertaking, he again asserts that he is guilty of no intentional, and, he confides, of no actual deviation from this sacred duty of the historian.

After the work had made its appearance, it soon became evident to the author, from the total silence of the minister and several of his colleagues, to whom he had sent it, that it had not altogether met that approbation, which the author once expected, and incessantly endeavoured to merit. The reluctance of his publisher to advertise, his slackness in subscribing, and backwardness in pushing the sale of the work, after the most urgent importunities of the author, became so many proofs of his acting under an influence, if not an indemnity to check the circulation of it. The work appeared in June 1803, and its subsequent fate has created the necessity of this Postliminious Preface. It is no longer a private case; it is a public cause: it involves the dearest interests of the most important, because the most vulnerable part of the British empire. It will develop in detail, and fitting it is, that Ireland, that Great Britain, that the world should know who are the men, who oppose the emancipation of Ireland; what are their views and motives for such opposition, and what the ways and means of effectuating it.

In the intermediate time between the publication of the work and Michaelmas last, the author frequently and urgently solicited the minister for an interview. It was at last accorded on the 28th of September, 1803. The circumstances under which the *Historical Review* was written and published, and the conduct of the minister with reference to it, since its publication, render every act that affects the work a matter of public concern, and sanctions, therefore, the publication of what passed in Downing street upon the subject of it. The author submitted to the minister, that, after the Herculean labour of bringing before the public such a body of history so peculiarly relevant to the critical circumstances of the day, it was a painful disappointment to him to have brought upon himself the displeasure and offence of the minister, not for having disobeyed, but for having punctiliously adhered to the spirit and tenour of the terms of his commission and undertaking. Mr. Addington admitted the displeasure and of-

* *Nihil est in historiâ purâ et illustri brevitate dulcius.* Cio. in Brut.

face, and went the length of assuming no small portion of merit for suppressing his indignation ; he had not read a line of the work himself, but he was informed by others (who may have rested their charges upon report, as the minister did his feelings), that the most unwarrantable freedom had been taken in speaking of certain characters to which government looked up for the salvation of Ireland ; that the general bearing and uniform spirit of the work diametrically contravened his intentions and expectations in countenancing and encouraging the undertaking ; that the errors and faults (if any had ever existed) of his majesty's servants ought to have been suppressed, not exposed ; in a word, that the author should have striven to render his work palatable to his employers ; and he then sorely lamented, that he had not procured it to be perused on his behalf. To these observations the author replied, that he had been most explicit in disclosing the spirit, views, and motives of his undertaking, when he first made overtures to the minister on the subject ; that in addition to his verbal statement, he had left with him the written document laid before Messrs. Pitt and Dundas in 1792, as a pledge of his sentiments upon the state of Ireland, and the expediency of her being united with Great Britain. [Had these sentiments not been then approved of by the minister, the work would not have been taken in hand.] That whatever subsequent changes had been produced in his mind, he had never condescended to communicate any of them to the author : that at all events, without revocation or countermand, his original instructions continued to bind and guide him in the execution of his commission. That it was moreover impossible for the author to suppose he meant to have an untrue and unfaithful history given to the public ; that the very commission to write history was, to a man of character, a special commission to write a *true* one ; that had he written a partial, unfaithful, time-serving history, he might perhaps have looked up to him for grace, favour, or remuneration ; but he must for ever have renounced the character of the historian : that it was beyond the powers of man to write a faithful history of recent events, especially of such as had lately been exhibited in Ireland, without wounding the feelings of many of the actors in those scenes ; but to meet those *desagremens*, the mind of the man, who took the pen in his hand to write modern history, was to be made up in the first instance. The author gave a solemn assurance to the minister, remarking that he believed few historians would join him in the declaration, that he was ready to call God to witness, that he had not throughout the work related one historical fact, which he did not believe to be true, nor made an observation, by

which he did not mean to promote peace, harmony, and good will between the inhabitants of the sister islands.*

Mr. Addington referred with peculiar emphasis to the question, which he observed, and the author admitted, was very improperly called *Catholic emancipation*; he took peculiar pains to convince the author, that his opinions upon that important subject had been made up on the purest motives of conscience. The author here observed, that he was the last man in the world to refuse to others what he himself claimed so strongly, against the prejudices and even against the laws of his country, namely, the right of forming his own conscientious convictions. Mr. Addington then remarked, that he repented not having sooner reflected what must have been the author's sentiments upon this question, *by the resistance of which he stood in that house*, and which he should ever continue to oppose till his latest breath; and he added, that the author knowing, as he must have known, his (the minister's, sentiments upon this subject, ought, from the nature of his employment, to have paid peculiar deference to them in his history. The author admitted, that he was in part aware of his public opinion upon the question of *Catholic emancipation*, and being himself a Catholic, he had scrupulously refrained from making a single observation of his own upon that subject in the history; adhering to the strictest duty of the annalist in the faithful narration of what others had said and done upon it. *That*, replied Mr. Addington, *might be more effectual than any thing of your own*. The author would not dissemble, that whilst he was writing, he so conceived it would be. The minister manifested more than ordinary astonishment, apparently not unmixed with anger, when the author informed him, that he had given in a note to his history the papers put into the hands of earl Fingall, and dr. Troy, by Mr. Pitt, and marquis Cornwallis, respecting their going out of office upon their inability to carry the Catholic question.† The author met the rising displeasure of the premier by

* After the consciousness of upright intention, the next satisfactory reward of human actions, in this life, is the approbation of the wise, great, and good man. On the 2d of January last, the author had the high gratification of receiving a letter from Mr. Grattan, upon his history, containing amongst other, the following testimony of his approbation: *You are one of the very few Irish historians, who have ventured to deal in the commodity called truth. You have done so like a man with vigour and ability against the tide of power and prejudice. You must look to the reward of merit, i. e. the censure of those, whose censure is panegyric. And Some of those who have attempted to write the history of Ireland are men who sold themselves and the country. Their history is their apology, not the recitation of facts. They are bigots, and they are slaves, bought and sold. Your history carries in it a characteristic stamp, that it was written by a free man.*

† In Mr. Pitt's paper the Catholics are assured, that the then leading part of his majesty's ministers finding unsurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, had felt it

submitting to him the utter impossibility of suppressing documents of such consequence, which manifested to the nation, or rather to the whole British empire (they are not slightly affected by the change) the grounds, upon which Mr. Pitt and his friends retired from office; consequently of those, upon which his successors came in. In the course of this interview Mr. Addington very distinctly, and very forcibly, thrice intimated to the author, that by his pledged resistance to this question of Catholic emancipation, he had come into and continued *in that house*. The author presuming, that his majesty had other motives for promoting him to that important station, took the liberty of expressing his hopes, that he was not inexorable in that opposition: he replied, he was not to be moved from it.

Another topic of conversation at this interview was far from being unimportant to the public. The primary object of the author's commission was to convert the truth of Irish history into evidence of the utility and advantages of incorporate union; it was but therefore consistent, that the historian should, as far as truth would bear him out, commend the system of marquis Cornwallis's government of that country. The commendation of that humane, just, and firm governor became indirect censure upon the opposite system of government pursued by his immediate predecessor; and the author submitted to the premier, that he did not conceive he could do more honour to earl Camden, than to say of him what the earl of Clare avowed in the Irish Lords in January 1798, that the system of coercion was extorted from him; and as it was evident that this system had diffused a wide and deep sense of soreness and disaffection throughout the

impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they had retired from his majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body might with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who then retired, and of many who remained in office, when it could be given with a prospect of success. They might be assured that Mr. Pitt would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects.

Marquis Cornwallis's paper is intitled, *The Sentiments of a sincere Friend to the Catholic Claims*. It purports, that if the Catholics should proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause; but who would, at the same time, feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained it is to be hoped, that in balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description.

country, it became the duty of the historian to remove the odium of those measures, as far as truth would allow, from the door of the British cabinet. He had therefore thrown it where it immediately rested, upon a certain triumvirate, who then monopolized the political power of that country. They have since been chiefly removed from it, by the hand of God or the power of the executive. The author was here sharply interrogated, whether he could for an instant presume it to have been the minister's wish or intention, that a syllable should have dropped from the author's pen to the disparagement of the respectable names of *Clare*, *Foster*, and *Beresford*. He scouted the idea of any difference of principle or system in the two governments of earl Camden and marquis Cornwallis. It was an identity of spirit and principle applicable to the varying circumstances of a rising, raging, and expiring rebellion.* Mr. Addington very significantly assured

* Such also was the language of every other gentleman connected with or dependant upon the present administration, with whom the author at any time since the publication of his history has conversed upon the subject of it. They have been all taught to identify the spirit and principle of the governments of earl Camden and marquis Cornwallis; as if a besotted public would second their attempt to varnish over a system of discord, blood, and terror (the discordant part of it has been since revived), with the wisdom and lustre of the opposite measures of his immediate successor, or to defile the moderate, humane, just, firm, and uniting system of marquis Cornwallis with the slightest tint, shade, or spirit of that system of acerbity, which the late lord Clare vaunted had been extorted from earl Camden. So spoke Mr. Wickham to the author on the 24th day of July last (the day after the late explosion in Dublin). In a conversation of nearly two hours, Mr. secretary distinctly disclosed to the author the grounds of the minister's displeasure and offence at his history: it treated with unseemly freedom some of the most revered characters of that nation: it spoke disrespectfully of persons (the Orange-men) to whom government looked up for the salvation of the country: it retailed horrors beyond those of the French revolution. When the author surmised the probability of some immediate attempts of the discontented in Ireland, he was boastingly assured of the unprecedented tranquillity and content diffused through the country by means of the mild and conciliatory measures of the castle.

Thus also spoke viscount Castlereagh to the author on the 15th of August; and who should better know the different systems, than the secretary, at the close of lord Camden's and through the whole of lord Cornwallis's administration? He also identified the views, spirit, principles, and measures of the two governments. When this noble lord assured the author, that he had never before that day heard of such a work as the *Historical Review*, the author apologized for not having sent a copy of it to his lordship, fearing thereby to offend him, as he conceived he had offended others. The author was probably more sensible than an indifferent person of his lordship's ignorance of the publication two months after it had been before the public. His astonishment however abated on reflecting, that this was the same noble lord, who in the Imperial House of Commons on the 18th March 1801 (Vide Parl. Reg. 435), in all the pomp of official solemnity alleged, that no torture had been used in Ireland under the authority, or with the approbation of government. Notwithstanding it be matter of lamentable notoriety, that triangles were kept in daily and often in hourly agitation on the Royal Exchange, on the old Custom-house Quay, in Mr. Beresford's riding-house, major Sandy's provost at the barracks, in the arsenal-yard within the castle, and other places in Dublin, for several

the author, that he knew not the grounds, views, or motives, of lord Cornwallis's actions. This the author admitted the possibility of; he could not however presume, that in so manly, humane, just, and noble a character, there lurked in the back ground any views or motives impervious to the observation of every candid by-stander; and he asserted with more than ordinary firmness, that he had, notwithstanding, reason for insisting, that his lordship's *sentiments with regard to Ireland were well known by the measures he pursued and those which he recommended.**

The result of this interview with the premier convinced the author more forcibly than ever of the powerful interest attempted to be raised against the question of *Catholic emancipation*; and that its having been made the ground of resignation in the last, and the tenure by which the present administration hold their offices, it becomes an object of very interesting anxiety to a very large and very important part of the British empire. As the author abstained in the body of his history from making any observations upon the merits of the question, he now confines himself to the statement of some of the consequences of the extreme vehemence, with which the opposition to that question is maintained, and of the effects which it produces upon the people, whom it chiefly affects. The question having been of such magnitude as to give either cause or pretext for the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his friends in the most awful crisis of public affairs, the thoughts of every observer of the political events of the day must at one time or other

months together in the year 1798; when this noble lord was secretary, and consequently must have known, that such unconstitutional engines (how could he be ignorant?) worked with the authority and approbation of that government, of which he was the active minister. The sufferings and cries of these tortured victims were certainly calculated to make a deeper impression upon his lordship's conceptions and memory, than Mr. Egerton's extensive advertisements of the *Historical Review*. This ignorance and denial of the government's sanctioning the torture seemed confined to this noble lord; for even Mr. J. C. Beresford admitted (Parl. Reg. 439) *such severities to have been really exercised in many cases; that punishments had been inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions from those who were suspected to have concealed arms, he would not, and it would be unmanly in him to deny*. Such, finally, was the language, not indeed of lord Pelham, but of his confidential friend and secretary sir George Shee, baronet. The author fears the presentation of a copy of his work proved offensive to this noble lord; for all that he heard of its reception from sir George Shee was, that the representation made by the author (*Hist. Rev.* vol. ii. 667) of his lordship's resignation under a disgust at the system of blood, in sympathy with earl Camden, was an erroneous and false statement. He was assured by the honourable baronet, that disease alone prevented him from continuing to co-operate in measures, which he cordially approved of, and to the prosecution of which he was eager to return, had his state of health allowed him so to do. The author promised to seize the earliest opportunity to recant his error; it has now become more necessary, as a contrary opinion has prevailed, namely, that he quitted the country under a want of nerve to weather the storm, which the system had so effectually raised.

* The author had at that time in his pocket a letter from the marquis, containing those words, which however he did not shew to the minister.

have been turned to the consideration of it. It has latterly become of the more singular importance, from having brought the two great rival statesmen to a full coincidence of opinion upon the imperious necessity of the measure. Mr. Fox, and the adherents to his political principles, have always, and under all circumstances, been staunch advocates for the measure upon large constitutional grounds. Mr. Pitt, after having for nearly twenty years resisted or kept back the question, after having experienced the effects of withholding it, after having contemplated the fatal consequences of a dire rebellion, and after having, by the most extraordinary exertions of government influence, composed the troubles of distracted Ireland in the uniting arms of Great Britain, became so sincere a convert to the opinions of his rival upon this question, that he sacrificed his political existence to the truths which he had so long combated, resisted, or evaded. Experience of the want of that measure through the awful period of fifteen years of the most convulsed politics ever recorded in history, taught him a lesson, which his great mind could no longer stand against. His heroic retirement from office on such constitutional grounds reconciled many of his former opponents to his uprightness and sincerity, and in the eyes of his friends it raised him to the pinnacle of political greatness.

While the earl of Rosslyn was the keeper of his majesty's conscience, the question was first moved and publicly mooted, whether the emancipation of Ireland would be an infringement of the coronation oath. The doctrine was particularly enforced in the enfeebling hour of disease, and the impression gained with convalescence. Many pamphlets appeared on each side. It created a new point for political adventurers to rally round; all the seceders from Mr. Pitt, who emulated not his virtue in sacrificing situation to principle, ranged themselves under this new banner. Individuals from every party fell occasionally into the treasury ranks. Some solemnly recanted their opinions; others, with an affected blush at open prostitution, pretended to retain their maiden principles, but deprecated the time for giving them effect.* All were well received. On one side the whole corps in office, flanked by all the dependants and expectants upon government patronage, and supported by certain members of the two hierarchies,† British and Hibernian, maintained, that *Catholic emanci-*

* When this subject was brought before the British parliament, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that there were too seasons, in which it was sure to be resisted by ministers, viz. *war and peace*. In the Irish parliament, it was remarked by Mr. Grattan and Mr. G. Ponsonby, that it was always proposed either *too soon or too late*.

† Several members of the established church, highly respected for their liberality and knowledge, are of a contrary opinion; witness the learned and reve-

tion, as it is termed, would be a direct violation of the coronation oath. They were attended by large bodies of freebooters: the ferocious Orange-men were eager to offer their services, in which they might revel in their lust for traducing, reviling, and oppressing their Catholic countrymen. On the other hand, the public beheld the unusual phenomenon of the great political rivals, with their respective friends and adherents, maintaining the imperious necessity of the measure, and denying that the free will of the executive can in any possible case be constitutionally fettered from assenting to whatever bill the Lords and Commons in parliament assembled may advise: that the coronation oath, by its words and spirit, enjoins the observance of existing laws; and the constitution leaves them essentially open to repeal and modification, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances. It is at this moment an awful consideration to a reflecting mind, that upon the liberty and welfare of four millions of his majesty's subjects, inhabiting the most vulnerable part of the British empire, the whole body politic is drawn out in full array, every one dreading the word of command. In this unaccountable suspense, fear, or stupor, the passive victims are silent and quiet—*plectuntur a-chivi*. The most lamentable effect of this perilous state of things, is, that the straggling corps of freebooters and marauders, presuming on their commissions, which recognize them as an irregular part of the general force, are permitted and encouraged to commence a masked warfare. They are let loose unmuzzled, fresh trained to the old game, without badge, name or responsibi-

rend prelate of Landaff, who has not scrupled, in the year 1803, to make the following open, manly, and Christian declaration: (Vide the substance of a speech intended to have been spoken in the House of Lords, p. 27) "We think the Catholics to be in error: they think the same of us: both ought to reflect, that every error is not a criminal error; and that their error is the greatest, who most err against Christian charity. If any one should contend, that this is not the time for government to make concessions to Ireland, I wish him to consider, whether there is any time, in which it is improper for either individuals or nations to do justice, any season improper for extinguishing animosity, any occasion more suitable than the present for putting an end to heart-burnings and internal discontent. I should be as averse as any man from making concessions to an enemy invading the country: but I would do much to gain a cordial friend to assist me in driving him back; and such a friend, I am confident, Ireland would become."

A like spirit of liberality and moderation must have inspired the breast of the primate of the British hierarchy, when he modelled the form of prayer, in which the nation last year invoked the divine protection and blessing on the solemn fast-day: "Give us all grace to put away from us all rancour of religious dissention, that they who agree in the essentials of our most holy faith, and look for pardon through the merits and intercession of the Saviour, may, notwithstanding their differences upon points of doubtful opinion, and in the forms of external worship, still be united in the bonds of Christian charity, and fulfil thy blessed Son's commandment, of loving one another as he hath loved them."

lity. The war-whoop of defamation, slander, and opposition has long been given. Every engine has been put in requisition, that can be commanded to spread again wide and deep the baneful spirit of *religious* discord. As if Ireland, poor ill-fated Ireland, had not yet been saturated with blood and wretchedness! As if Great Britain feared that union should expel the dæmon of dissension, and diffuse indiscriminate concord through that long-distracted country, the government papers in England are fed from Ireland with the foulest calumnies and falsehoods. The nauseous cant of bigotted mendacity is largely administered, as a provocative to stimulate the wasting lust for religious persecution. They are the unadministered doses, with which Ireland has been overgorged, sent under Drogheda covers to take their fate upon such British patients as shall madly swallow them. Such anonymous discharges of rancorous falsehoods, even in the supposed pay of government,* would produce but slight effects upon the impartial public, were they left to operate by their mere intrinsic virtue. If, in spite of St. Patrick's wand, there still be found some envenomed reptiles in the holy island, the dunghills, in which their baneful eggs are hatched, may be easily traced to *Merrion Avenue*, or the vicinity of Lismore. The venomous issue may be followed home through all their windings, forms, and craft, to the parent vipers. These poisonous nondescripts have, however, the peculiarity of being innoxious to all but to their kindred spawn.

The author has already endeavoured to convince his reader of the real and true grounds upon which he proposed, and the minister acceded to his writing a history of Ireland. Yet, ere he quits the subject, he submits to the public this written declaration, which he made to Mr. Addington, in a letter of the 26th of July, 1803, which was never honoured with an answer.

* The *Times* being the official government paper, has with certain persons the authority of a British *Moniteur*. This paper, for the 5th January 1804, in a letter signed *Molyneux*, sets out in telling us that, "the disaffection and turbulence which have disgraced Ireland for above twenty years have arisen from a radical ignorance in the English government, of its real state." This is a prelude to a second letter of the same hireling, in *The Times* of the 9th January, in which he himself says, that the author's "*voluminous work is a gross libel on the conduct of the British government*!" From *Molyneux's* commendation of the *British Critic*, it may be inferred, that those valuable and well-founded invectives have been made up in the gross by the same hand; to which also may be attributed some other such portions sent forth in the *Traveller*, for the benefit of his British country customers: in which may be read this description of all his Catholic countrymen: whose wants and wishes are, says he, to exterminate all loyal subjects from Ireland; to seize their property, to separate it for ever from England, and to appropriate it exclusively to themselves: and this object they have invariably pursued ever since the Reformation was introduced into Ireland. Such are these Doctors' Union Pills.

Essex Street, 26th July, 1803.

" SIR,

" I am sorry to find, from a conversation with Mr. Wickham, that the long and painful labours I have undergone to promote union and affection in the sister kingdom, have in some shape failed of the desired effect; and that it is found impracticable to give public countenance to the circulation of my history. I lament that the same object can be seen in such opposite lights. I appeal, sir, to your candour, whether the express conditions, under which I took the work in hand were not, to write an authentic, impartial, and true history of Ireland, to counteract the effects of sir Richard Musgrave's falsities and calumnies, to render the union popular, and follow up and support the spirit of lord Cornwallis's administration. To effect this, it became essentially necessary to decry that system, which lord Cornwallis so pointedly reprobated; nor could those persons be consistently praised or palliated, against whom he had either expressed or shewn displeasure, or offence. I have laboured incessantly and zealously to inculcate, on every occasion, gratitude to his most gracious majesty for the many signal favours conferred upon the Irish Catholics during his reign; to display the advantages of union in the most fascinating colours, and to convince the people of that country, that it is the intention of the present government to tread in the footsteps of lord Cornwallis, and not in those of his predecessor. I have necessarily thrown the odium of certain measures upon a junto in Ireland, whose monopoly of power I neither did or do conceive the present government wishes to revive or support. I have laboured all I could to purify the British government in the eyes of the Irish nation, and to make them sensible of the advantages of the union from the innate and unvarying corruption of their own parliament," &c. Such were the sentiments of the author, not obliquely hinted at, ambiguously assumed, or obscurely stated, but explicitly urged both before and after publication, perhaps *ad nauseam*. Great then was his surprise, when he observed the mind of the minister obstinately bent upon inverting, counteracting, and undervaluing the measures of lord Cornwallis's administration; greater, when he passed in review the long procession of characters implicated in, dependant upon, or interested in the continuance of the present system of government in Ireland, who now fill high offices in the state, and command an influence upon his majesty's councils: all combining to revive, extend, and give permanency to the Machiavelian principle, so fatal ever to Ireland, *divide et impera*. The author undertakes not to combat these principles. He pretends not to lay, but to expose to view the *Orange* spirit, which lies a deadly *incubus* upon the present

ministry of the country. If Ireland, after the union, be not emancipated, fitting it is, that the Irish should know the men * and the measures that keep them out of this long-sighed-for land of promise.

In the front of their opponents stands conspicuously forward the lord high chancellor of Ireland, baron Redesdale. The fierceness of his zeal bespeaks all the precipitancy and heat of a recent proselyte to the cause. What powerful potion has effected the stupendous change of a liberal English solicitor-general into an austere Irish chancellor, the reader may, the author cannot discover. The public has now had before them a chain of polemical correspondence between that noble lord and the earl of Fingall, the first in rank of the body of Irish Catholics. The circumstance of lord Hardwicke's desiring the chancellor to put that noble earl into the commission of the peace, gave occasion to this extraordinary correspondence. When sir John Mitford brought a bill into the British House of Commons, in favour of the English Catholics, he is presumed to have thoroughly considered, for he then expressed himself well pleased with the tenets, principles, and conduct of that body, which received great benefit under his act. The nation rejoiced: The Catholics were grateful. Local circumstances may occasion a difference in the actions and conduct of the Irish from those of the English Catholics: but all the tenets and principles of the Roman Catholic church being common to all the members of it, whether resident in England or Ireland, his lordship's objections to Catholic doctrine must have had the same force (if any force they have) against the English Catholics in 1790, and the Irish in 1803. Not a man, who had not read this hyperpolemical ebullition, could believe it possible, that the great arbiter of national equity, the prime adviser of his majesty's councils, and keeper of his conscience, should descend to become the Æolus of polemical discord, in a nation still throbbing with the

* The irritation and virulence of the British Critic, and other anonymous writers, who are stimulated and hired to disgorge their venom at the *Historical Review*, shew, and it has become the author's duty to unfold the conspiracy, formed not merely against *Catholic emancipation*, but against the publication of the truth of Irish history. Her masked assassins indiscriminately plunge their envenomed steel in the breast of every votary to truth. *Tros Tyrusce mihi nullo discrimine habetur.* Protestant, Catholic, churchman, layman, are equally included in their deadly warrant. The author has in his possession a letter, written, within these two months, from the rev. Mr. Gordon, whose faithful and impartial history of the rebellion of 1798 is too well known to all, who make common cause with truth, to need commendation. They will rejoice to learn, that this diligent investigator and illustrious martyr to truth is employing his literary talents upon a more extended scale. "I am," says he, "engaged for some time past in a history of Ireland, from the earliest accounts to the present time, and hope that you will find that impartiality in it, which you have had the goodness to praise in my account of the Rebellion; on account of which I have been, and am most maliciously and meanly persecuted, to the discredit of many professors of the Protestant religion."

green wounds of religious rancour. Reason will not second the warmest wish to exculpate the Irish chancellor from making charges he knew to be false and groundless. The act, of his own introduction, requires, from every English Catholic, both a declaration of his adherence in spirituals to the see of Rome and an oath of allegiance to a Protestant king. He did not then think them incompatible. The legislature does not now think them incompatible. The author knows not to what account to place the confusion of the terms *defection from the see of Rome, rebellion, and allegiance*, in the following sentence of his first letter. "Until the priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion shall cease to inculcate, that all who differ from them in religious opinions are to be considered as guilty of defection from the see of Rome, that is, as guilty of rebellion, including his majesty's sacred person, in that description, it cannot be expected, that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a king, thus represented to them as himself guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance." The most uninformed parish priest throughout the four provinces of Ireland would have blushed thus to abuse the terms and confound the duties of the subject and the Christian.

Who would suppose that these sentiments were written by the dispenser of that church in Ireland, which, by their ninth and eleventh canon, deals out excommunication *ipso facto* upon all those who shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostle's rule in the church of England, and combine themselves in a new brotherhood, &c. and those who affirm and maintain that any other assembly or congregation of the king's subjects, *than those of the church of England*, may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, &c. Is he to be presumed ignorant of the tenet of exclusive salvation so strongly asserted in the Athanasian creed, and the eighteenth of the thirty-nine articles of religion, to which every clergyman must subscribe ere he can enjoy any of his lordship's benefices? No religion can be inculcated to man, but upon the score of truth: and truth is one. The Irish Catholics have been uninterruptedly loyal *de facto* to Protestant princes since the Revolution in 1668: but this zealous champion would now argue them out of the very possibility of their loyalty for want of brotherhood in Christ with a Protestant prince. Does his lordship recollect that Dissenters (though by the canons of his church an *excommunicated brotherhood*) are loyal to king George, who is of the established church of England, and that the Protestants of the same established church were loyal to king William, a Presbyterian? When this polemic chancellor complained that *dr. Troy, in his pastoral instructions on the duties of Christian citizens, holds up high the exclusive doctrine*, did he reflect whether

he had himself, or how many of his most confidential friends had ever subscribed, professed, assented, or sworn to these words, *This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved?* But slight reflection on the doctrine of his own church would have made the noble lord more cautious in charging the Catholics on account of this very doctrine *with the impossibility of ever being dutiful and loyal subjects of a king thus held out to them as himself a rebel.* What degree of ignorance, however gross, can justify this indecorous abuse of the word *rebel?* The annexation of it to the person of his majesty revolts against every principle of affection and loyalty. Little indeed are the expectation or desire of promoting those necessary civil duties amongst his majesty's subjects of Ireland, discoverable in the following sentiments of this evangelizing statist: "Under such circumstances it cannot be believed that any honest and conscientious means have or will be taken by the priests of the Roman persuasion to make the lower orders of the people composing their congregations loyal subjects of the Protestant government of this country." And he strongly expresses his opinion, that Catholic doctrine *is repugnant to the repose of mankind.* This noble peer has not deigned in all his zeal to account for his pacificating mission. *How shall they preach except they be sent?* (Rom. x. 15.) He will not, however, renounce the commendation of his evangelical labours. *How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!*

The author has given these few extracts from lord Redesdale's letters to shew to the public the new bent of his lordship's mind towards the bulk of the Irish nation, and what eagerness to gain and secure their affections to the British government, now animates the noble keeper of his majesty's conscience in Ireland. However ill-judged (it is impossible to presume ill-intended) the exacerbations of past horrors may prove, it must all be laid to the account of *conscience.* That wide expanded title admits under it an incalculable variety of articles. The fourth letter of this singular correspondence, however, contains an item that the most pliant ingenuity will scarcely force into the account of *conscientious convictions.* It relates to the case of the rev. Mr. O'Neil, a Roman Catholic parish priest, lately returned from New South Wales. His lordship complains, "that a priest, proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murders of 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government has been brought back in triumph and by the same superior, to what in defiance of the law he calls *his parish,* and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that government to whose lenity he owes his redemption, from the punish-

ment due to his crimes." The Irish public has long known, and the British public now knows, what the chancellor ought to have known ere he committed such acrimonious errors to paper, namely, that Mr. O'Neil never was found guilty of any crime, and consequently that he could not have been pardoned: that he was flogged even to evisceration, for the purpose of extorting from him the secrets of the confessional; that he was sent out to Botany Bay against the express order of lord Cornwallis; that he was called home by lord Hardwicke, because he was an innocent man; and that, for the same reason, was he reinstated in his parish by his superior. A lamentable proof of the revival of the old system of encouraging and acting upon false reports! It had surely been wise, if lord chancellor Redesdale, like the great and humane Cornwallis, had checked this pernicious and wicked system, which so efficaciously stimulated the rebellion of 1798.

The doctrine of denying not only *actual* but *possible* loyalty to the body of Irish Catholics was imported by some unaccountable means into this country. To the astonishment of the British nation, his majesty's attorney-general (the brother-in-law of the Irish chancellor) *volunteered* in the Imperial House of Commons, with reference to the Irish question, the following declaration: "That the House should be deeply impressed with the expediency of guarding against the danger of alienating one part of the community, whose affections they were sure of, in attempting to conciliate another part *they knew they never could possess.*" (*Report of Parliamentary Debate in Morning Post, August 12, 1803.*) Little could such language tend to conciliate the affections of his majesty's Protestant and Catholic subjects of Ireland.

It is matter of notoriety, that at this hour out of 11,0000 seamen of the British navy full 70,000 are Irish, and most of them Roman Catholics; and few are aware of the large proportion of his majesty's army composed of the same description of persons. The affections of such a prolific nursery for the public service, is not a matter of indifference to the welfare of the empire. Whenever the question of their emancipation shall be brought forward, it will remain to be seen, what part will be taken in it by those gentlemen in particular now in office, who have had the opportunity of practically knowing the effects of the various systems produced by the several administrations in Ireland with which they have been connected, or on which they have depended, or do depend.

The same earnestness which actuated the author in investigating and disclosing as much of the truth of Irish history as he could come at, induced him to submit the manuscript of this *Postliminious* Preface to the minister, that he might render it in every shape unexceptionable in point of veracity. He accordingly had

the honour of laying before him the Preface accompanied by the following letter.

Essex Street, Feb. 2, 1804.

SIR,

When I was honoured with an interview on the 28th of September last, you assured me, that you lamented not having acceded to my offer of submitting the manuscript of my History to some perusal on your behalf. From the circumstances of that History's having given you both displeasure and offence, although you had not read one line of it, as you avowed to me on that same day, and from a most extraordinary though not unaccountable tenacity in Mr. Egerton, my bookseller, in checking the sale of the work, I have found myself necessitated, in justice to my reputation, to my family, and to the Irish nation, whom your conduct affects more than the writer of their history, to publish a Postliminious Preface. Inasmuch, therefore, as that will form a part of the work which I wrote with your approbation, and in the strictest conformity with the spirit and tenor of my proposals expressed to you, both by word and writing, it is but consistent with the honesty, honour, and candour which have guided my whole conduct towards you, to afford you an opportunity of perusing this part of the work in manuscript before the sheets are drawn off, pledging myself to correct any mis-statement of fact, that your memory or knowledge may enable you to rectify before publication, and in which I may have erred. As an historian I am little anxious about form and style; I wish to be clear and explicit in detail, simple and correct in language. As to historical truth, I am inexorable; I may be deceived myself, but whilst I possess my reason I never shall be brought to lend a hand in deceiving others. If before Monday you shall have pointed out to me no false or erroneous statements in the manuscript now left for your perusal, I shall conclude that it is in every point of view what I intended it should be, a true and faithful account of my writing the Historical Review of the State of Ireland. After the fate of that work, the interest and welfare of Ireland, and the consequent firmness of the British empire, call for the publication of such an account. I have the honour to be, with most profound deference and respect,

Sir, your devoted and obedient

Humble servant,

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

Right Hon. Henry Addington.

On the ensuing Sunday the author was honoured with the following answer:

Downing Street, Feb. 5, 1804.

Mr. Addington has received Mr. Plowden's letter and the manuscript which accompanied it: Mr. Addington abstains from

suggesting any alteration in the latter, but cannot forbear remarking its extreme inaccuracy, as far as it relates to communications that have taken place between Mr. Plowden and himself.

The reader will perhaps agree with the author, that after the receipt of this answer, further application to the premier, for the purpose of revisal and correction, would have been obtrusive and fruitless. The answer, however, admits the truth of the whole Preface, except such parts of it as relate to the communications which have taken place between that right honourable gentleman and the author. As he remarks the *extreme inaccuracy* of the statement of those communications, without condescending to point out in what it consists, the author was at a dead fault to know what parts to alter or correct. For he is free to say, that after a most rigorous revisal of the manuscript, and impartial reflection upon his communications with the minister, he is ready to do, with respect to the Preface, what he once told the minister (he now repeats it) with reference to his history ; he is ready to swear that no part whatever of this statement is false, or substantially inaccurate.

THE END.

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 Printed and Published by W. F. M'Laughlin
 and Bartholomew Graves, Philadelphia.



THE SPEECH

OF

ROBERT EMMET, ESQ.

AS DELIVERED AT THE SESSIONS-HOUSE, DUBLIN,

BEFORE

LORD NORBURY,

ONE OF THE CHIEF JUDGES.

MY LORDS,

WHAT have I to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law? I have nothing to say, that can alter your predetermination, nor that it will become me to say with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are here to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say, which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured, (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy.... I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusation and calumny which have been heaped upon it. I do not imagine that, seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity, as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter.... I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is.... I only wish, and it is the utmost I expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storm by which it is at present buffeted..... Was I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by *your* tribunal.... I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur.... but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner, will, thro' the ministry of that law, labour in its

own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy....for there must be guilt somewhere: whether in the sentence of the court or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice:....the man dies, but his memory lives: that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port; when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope; I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the most high.... which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest....which sets man upon the brother, and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard....a government which is steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made.

[Here lord Norbury interrupted Mr. Emmet, saying, that the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.]

.....I appeal to the immaculate God....I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear....by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me....that my conduct has been through all this peril and through all my purposes, governed only by the convictions which I have uttered, and by no other view, than that of their cure, and the emancipation of my country from the superinhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travailed; and that I confidently and assuredly hope that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest enterprise....Of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not, my lord, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness; a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this. Yes, my Lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written,

until his country is liberated, will not leave a weapon in the power of envy ; nor a pretence to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him.

[Here he was again interrupted by the court.]

Again I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envymy expressions were for my countrymen ; if there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of his affliction.....

[He was again interrupted. Lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.]

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law ; I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity ; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender beniginity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime, of which he had been adjudged guilty : that a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt....but where is the boasted freedom of your Institutions, where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice ; if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not pure justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated ?

My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice, to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold ; but worse to me than the purposed shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the shame of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court : you, my lord, are a judge, I am the supposed culprit ; I am a man, you are a man also ; by a revolution of power, we might change places, tho' we never could change characters ; if I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice ? If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it ? Does the sentence of death which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach ? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist, I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions ; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is

the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lord, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the searcher of all hearts to shew a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or attached by the purest motives....my country's oppressors or....

[*Here he was interrupted and told to listen to the sentence of the Law.*]

My Lord, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself, in the eyes of the community of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away for a paltry consideration the liberties of his country! Why did your lordship insult me? or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced? I know, my Lord, that form prescribes that you should ask the question, the form also presumes a right of answering! This no doubt may be dispensed with....and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the castle before your jury was impaneled; your Lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit; but I insist on the whole of the forms.

[*Here the court desired him to proceed.*]

I am charged with being an emissary of France! An emissary of France! And for what end? It is alleged that I wished to sell the independence of my country! And for what end? Was this the object of my ambition? And is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradictions? No, I am no emissary; and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country; not in power, nor in profit, but in the glory of the achievement! Sell my country's independence to France! And for what? Was it for a change of masters? No! But for ambition! O, my country, was it personal ambition that could influence me, had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of my oppressors? My country was my idol; to it I sacrifice every selfish, every endearing sentiment; and for it, I now offer up my life. O God! No, my Lord; I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and from the more galling yoke of a domestic faction, which is its joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide for the ignominy of existing with an exterior of splendour and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly riveted despotism,

I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth ; I wished to exalt you to that proud station in the world.

Connection with France was indeed intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction ; we sought aid, and we sought it as we had assurances we should obtain it ; as auxiliaries in war....and allies in peace.

Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them on the beach, with a sword in one hand, and a torch in the other ; I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war ; and I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish ; because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable, when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

But it was not as an enemy that the succours of France were to land ; I looked indeed for the assistance of France ; but I wished to prove to France and to the world, that Irishmen deserve to be assisted ! That they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country.

I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America. To procure an aid, which by its example would be as important as its valour, disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and experience ; who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character ; they would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing in our perils and elevating our destiny. These were my objects, not to receive new task-masters, but to expel old tyrants ; these were my views, and these only became Irishmen. It was for these ends I sought aid from France ; because France, even as an enemy, could not be more implacable than the enemy already in the bosom of my country.

[Here he was interrupted by the court.]

I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the *key-stone* of the combination of Irishmen, or, as your Lordship expressed it,

"the life and blood of the conspiracy." You do me honour over much: You have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior. There are men engaged in this *conspiracy*, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my Lord; men, before the splendour of whose genius and virtues, I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves dishonoured to be called your friend.... who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand.....

[Here he was interrupted.]

What, my Lord, shall you tell me, on the passage to that scaffold, which that tyranny, of which you are only the intermediary executioner, has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has, and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, shall you tell me this.... and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

I do not fear to approach the omnipotent judge, to answer for the conduct of my whole life; and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality here? By you too, who, if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry, in one great reservoir, your Lordship might swim in it.

[Here the Judge interfered.]

Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour; let no man attain my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but that of my country's liberty and independence; or that I could have become the pliant minion of power in the oppression or the miseries of my countrymen. The proclamation of the provisional government, speaks for our views; no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement at home, or subjection, humiliation, or treachery from abroad; I would not have submitted to a foreign oppressor for the same reason that I would resist the foreign and domestic oppressor; in the dignity of freedom I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemy should enter only by passing over my lifeless corpse. And who lived but for my country, and who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous, and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights, and my country her independence, and am I to be loaded with calumny, and not suffered to resent and repel it....No, God forbid!

If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who are dear to them in this transitory life....O ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father,

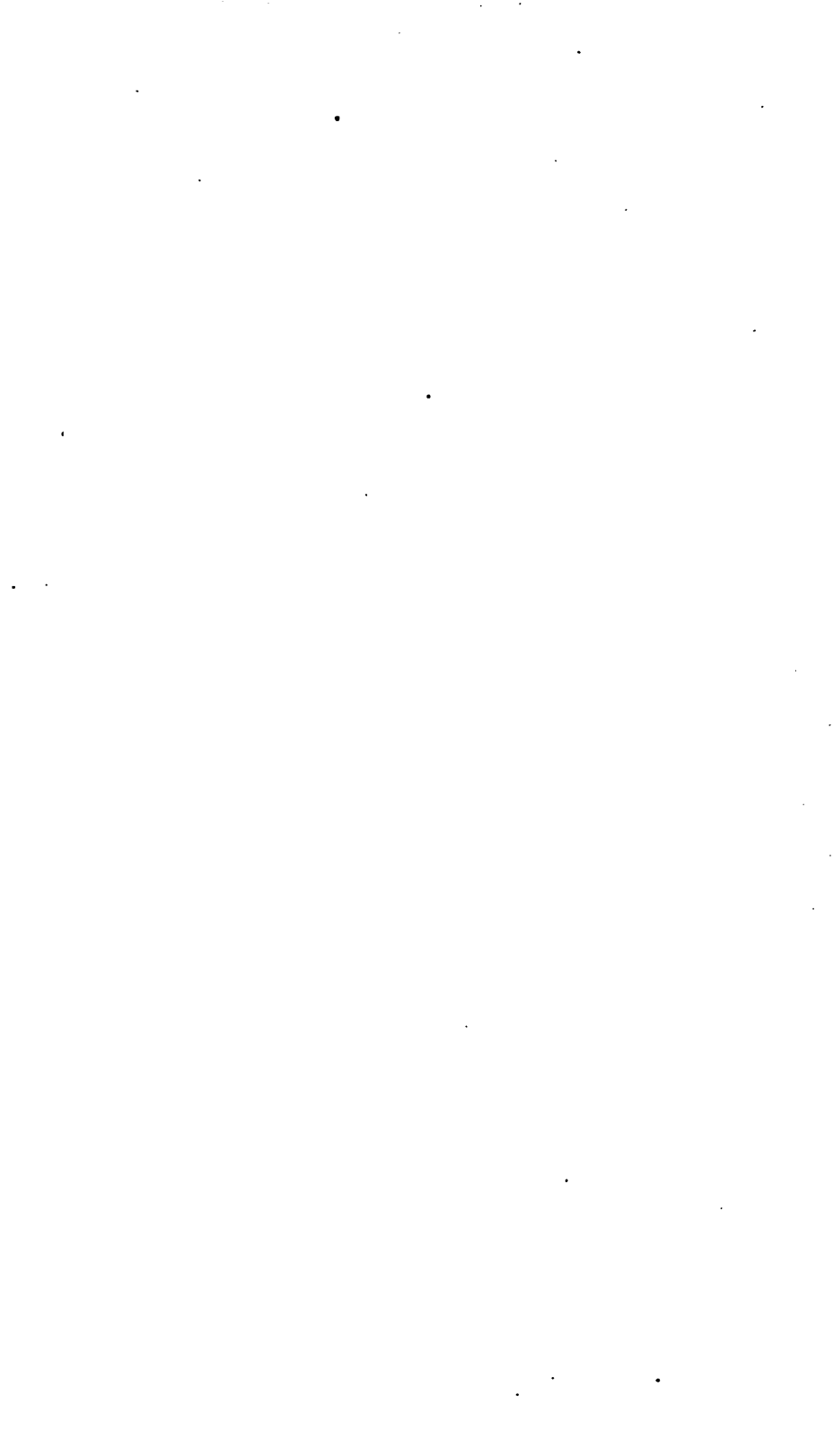
look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son ; and see if I have even for a moment deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your care to instil into my youthful mind ; and for which I am now to offer up my life.

My Lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice....the blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim ; it circulates warmly and unruffled, through the channels which God created for noble purposes, but which you are bent to destroy, for purposes so grievous, that they cry to heaven.....Be yet patient ! I have but a few words more to say....I am going to my cold and silent grave : my lamp of life is nearly extinguished : my race is run : the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom ! I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world, it is the charity of its silence !....Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare *now* vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times, and other men, can do justice to my character ; when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then....and not till then....let my epitaph be written.....I have done.

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